

# The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia

ARABIC PRINTING OF THE GOSPELS, CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES,  
AND THE RISE OF SHĪ'Ī ANTI-CHRISTIAN POLEMICS

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## CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgments</b>	6
<b>Preface</b>	8
<b>Abbreviations</b>	15
<b>Transliteration and Dates</b>	18
<b>List of Illustrations</b>	19

<b>Introduction: Persian Translations of the Bible in Pre-Safavid Iran</b>	21
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### PART ONE

<b>Chapter 1: From Egypt via Rome to Persia: The Arabic Vulgate at Cultural Crossroads</b>	37
1.1 A Manuscript of Coptic Provenance in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome: The First Publication of the Gospels in Arabic Translation	40
1.2 The <i>Vorlage</i> for the Medici Edition of the Arabic Vulgate	49
1.3 Vatican Censorship and the Production of the Roman Arabic Vulgate	58
<b>Chapter 2: Carmelite Missionaries at Work: The Dissemination of Printed Copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Seventeenth-Century Persia</b>	67
2.1 Catholic-Shiʿī Encounters in Isfahan	78
2.2 The Library of the Discalced Carmelites	90

### PART TWO

<b>Reading the Gospels in Favor of Imāmi Shiʿism: The Muslim Reception of the Roman Arabic Vulgate</b>	96
<b>Chapter 3: Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650): Philosopher and Polemicist against Christianity in Isfahan</b>	98
3.1 ʿAlavī’s Attitude towards Judaism and Christianity	113

3.2	The Anti-Christian Persian Works <i>Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī</i> and <i>Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṡ</sup></i>	126
3.3	°Alavī’s Persian Refutations of Christianity in the Vatican	134
<b>Chapter 4: Zāhīr al-Dīn Tafrishī (d. before 1114/1702): Defender of ‘Truth’ against Melkites and Latin Missionaries</b>		143
4.1	The Arabic and Persian Recensions of Tafrishī’s <i>Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq</i>	146
4.2	Tafrishī’s Reception of Ibn al-Faḍl’s Arabic Version of the Septuagint Psalter	153
4.3	Tafrishī’s Attitude towards the Bible	158
<b>Chapter 5: Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (d. 1127/1715): Translator of the Gospels from Arabic into Persian</b>		161
5.1	The Roman Arabic Vulgate in Persian Translation	165
5.2	The Arrival of Printed Copies of the <i>Biblia Sacra Arabica</i> in Iran	172
<b>Conclusion: An Intellectual Network between Egypt, Rome, and Persia</b>		177
<b>Appendices</b>		181
1	Inventory of Manuscripts of °Alavī’s <i>Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī</i>	181
2	Inventory of Manuscripts of °Alavī’s <i>Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṡ</sup></i>	188
3	Inventory of Manuscripts of Tafrishī’s <i>Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq</i>	202
4	Inventory of Manuscripts of Khātūnābādī’s Persian Translation of the Gospels	206
5	°Alavī’s Citations from the Roman Arabic Vulgate in an Unidentified Persian Translation	209

6	Tafrishī's Citations from the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Arabic and in His Own Persian Translation	232
7	Tafrishī's Citations from the Septuagint Psalms and Odes in Arabic and in His Own Persian Translation	239
	<b>Bibliography</b>	241
1	Manuscripts	241
2	Primary Sources	248
3	Secondary Sources	258
	<b>Abstract</b>	301
	<b>Abstract in German Translation</b>	304

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Dānishgāh (Tehran); the Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān (Tehran); the Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik (Tehran); the Majma<sup>c</sup>-i Zakhā<sup>o</sup>ir-i Islāmī (Qum); and the Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>o</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī (Qum). I am particularly indebted to Mohammad Ebrahim Alizadeh, Alireza Dowlatshahi, Dr. Hamed Naji Esfahani, Heidar Eyvazi, Paul Lawlor, Ahmad Nabavi, Milad Poshtivan, Amirhoushang Rahmānejad, Dr. Sadegh Sajjadi, Mahdi Mohammadi Shojai, Kian Tavakkoli, and Sohrab Yeke Zare for their help in accessing certain manuscripts consulted for this study.

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## Preface

The study of the Arabic translations of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, i.e. the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and the New Testament, has become today a field in its own right. It is characterized by an interdisciplinary linguistic-historical approach, based on a systematic and comprehensive examination of manuscripts, a growing community of researchers, and an increasing number of publications, including research articles, critical editions, monographs, and collective volumes.<sup>1</sup> In recent years, research projects such as the *Biblia Arabica* project, with a book series of the same name, and the project *The Arabic Manuscripts of the Letters of Paul of Tarsus* have been initiated.<sup>2</sup> Recently, a research group dedicated to “The Bible in Arabic in Judaism, Christianity, Islam” was established within the European Association of Biblical Studies.<sup>3</sup>

As we know, Arabic versions of biblical books circulated widely among Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian communities in the Islamicate world. They were used in liturgy, studied privately, and discussed by scholars and exegetes, often beyond denominational borders. In addition, Muslim authors relied on Arabic translations of the sacred Scriptures of the Jews and the Christians for the purpose of refuting their religious beliefs. The cross-cultural mobility of Arabic versions of biblical books and their transmission and reception throughout the centuries are among the major characteristics of these translations. While previous research has tended to focus primarily on the history of the Arabic Bible in Arabic-speaking lands (and its printing history in early modern Europe), the influence of the Arabic

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<sup>1</sup> For references, see the Introduction below.

<sup>2</sup> See <http://biblia-arabica.com> and <http://wp.unil.ch/nt-arabe> (both accessed 26 July 2016).

<sup>3</sup> See <https://eabs.net/site/the-bible-in-arabic-in-judaism-christianity-islam> (accessed 26 July 2016).



Bible tradition on interreligious encounters in Persianate societies has so far escaped scholarly attention.

This study suggests that Arabic translations of biblical books were an important source for Imāmī (Twelver Shī'ī) scholars in Safavid Iran of the seventeenth century, giving rise to the composition of some of the earliest known refutations of Christianity in 'Standard (New) Persian' (hereafter Persian). It represents the result of many years of research and study in a hitherto largely neglected field, namely the history of the Shī'ī Muslim perception of the Bible in the age of Arabic printing and global Christian missionary activity. More precisely, this study examines the intellectual encounters between Catholic and Shī'ī representatives and the cross-cultural effects of a printed edition of an Arabic translation of the Gospels, made by Eastern Christians, on Shī'ī anti-Christian polemics. The aim of my dissertation is to explore the connectivity between Coptic Egypt, Renaissance Rome, and Shī'ī Iran, a triangular connection that has not been studied until now.

Naturally, the scope of this study is historical and interdisciplinary, borrowing from a variety of disciplines to uncover what can be interpreted as a polycentric world of religious dialogue and polemical interactions. Amongst these disciplines are Islamic studies, Iranian studies, the history of Christianity and missiology, Renaissance studies, Arabic manuscript studies, and book history. Moreover, my doctoral dissertation is an attempt to bridge the divide between Arabic- and Persian-speaking parts of the pre-modern world of Islam, shared by different Muslim and non-Muslim denominations. It shows that Arabic translations of the Christian Scriptures transcended the cultural-religious boundaries of the Christian communities in the Arab world and became available to Shī'ī Muslims in Persian-speaking lands.

The protagonist of this study is the Arabic Vulgate, a medieval Arabic translation of the four Gospels, also known as the ‘Alexandrian Vulgate’ or the ‘Egyptian Vulgate’. In contrast to the Vulgata – the Latin version of the Old and New Testaments which is assumed to reflect the revision by the late fourth and early fifth century theologian Jerome and his disciples – the term ‘Arabic Vulgate’ was originally given to this Arabic version of the Gospels to indicate that it was widely used by different Christian communities in the Middle East, in particular by Copts and Syriac Christians.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, I also use the term ‘Arabic Vulgate’ in this dissertation.

This particular Arabic version of the Gospels will guide us through the following chapters. The early printing history of the Arabic Vulgate shows that pre-modern societies in Europe, the Middle East, and the Persian world were closely interrelated, despite their different languages, denominations, and political entities. Cultural-religious boundaries proved to be no obstacle to the dissemination and transmission of manuscripts and printed material, as well as to the distribution of ideas between the East and West, and vice versa. Coptic communities in Lower Egypt, ecclesiastical authorities in late Renaissance Rome, and leading Twelver Shī‘ī scholars in the Safavid Empire were connected through the exchange of religious texts, which sometimes provoked decades-long controversies between Isfahan and the Vatican over the interpretation of the Gospels.

The subject of this study, which draws upon ninety-nine mostly unexplored manuscripts in Arabic and Persian preserved in libraries in Iran, the Middle East, and

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<sup>4</sup> Hikmat Kashouh adopted the term ‘Arabic Vulgate’ in his recent study on the Arabic translations of the Gospels, stating that “the term ‘Alexandrian Vulgate’ [or ‘Egyptian Vulgate’] should not be given to this family [of manuscripts], not only because it was not translated from Coptic but also because it was accepted and employed by the Copts in Egypt as well as by the Syriac communities” (H. Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012, 206).

Europe, as well as archival material in various European languages, has developed over time. During my manuscript research, I became aware that Shī'ī authors of anti-Christian polemics, dating from the seventeenth century, tended to adduce a comparatively large number of verses from the Gospels both in Arabic and Persian. The verses were quoted according to the same text division system, which clearly differs from the Vulgata.<sup>5</sup> Shī'ī authors evidently had direct access to the Gospels through an Arabic version that I was able to identify, on the basis of the extant textual divisions, as the Arabic Vulgate printed by the Medici Oriental Press in late sixteenth-century Rome. This led me to explore the history of this first edition of an Arabic version of the Gospels, the importation of its printed copies into Persia, and their study by Shī'ī scholars.

Following the introduction to pre-Safavid Persian translations of the Bible (which do not seem to have been accessible to Shī'ī scholars of the seventeenth century), the major part of this dissertation is divided into two sections. The first part, organized into two chapters, highlights the itinerary of the Arabic Vulgate from Coptic Egypt via Rome to Persia. The second part, with its three chapters, focuses on the Imāmī reception of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation. This was the century of the Arabic Vulgate in Iran, before other Arabic and Persian versions of the Gospels became more influential on the Shī'ī study of the Christian Scriptures and finally superseded the Arabic Vulgate in the eighteenth century.

Chapter One explores the Coptic provenance of the manuscript on which the Medici Oriental Press based its publication of the Arabic Gospels. It closely examines the process from the manuscript *Vorlage* to the creation of a handwritten printing model to the final

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<sup>5</sup> For details, see below, Chapter 1.

printed text. This procedure required the imprimatur of the Vatican and thus a prior harmonization of the Arabic Vulgate, through a Latin interlinear translation, with the Vulgata. The revised Arabic version of the Gospels that finally went to press in Rome is called, in this study, the Roman Arabic Vulgate.

Chapter Two surveys the Catholic mission to Persia and the influence of missionaries on the dissemination of printed copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate among Shīʿī Muslims. It examines the use of the Medici edition as a missionary tool, promoted by the Vatican, to foster the evangelization of Muslims and non-Catholics. The encounter between Catholic friars and Shīʿī scholars in Iran was the major reason for the circulation of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in the country. The library of the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan was an important location where Shīʿī scholars sought and gained access to printed copies of the Medici edition of the Gospels and other biblical books in Arabic translation.

With Part Two, we approach the history of the Shīʿī reception of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. The availability of a printed edition of the Gospels laid the foundations for the composition of several Shīʿī anti-Christian polemics. Its earliest evidence appears in the Persian refutations of Christianity, dating from the 1620s, by the well-known philosopher and theologian Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī (Chapter Three). Due to his importance as an eminent Imāmī scholar in Isfahan, I discuss ʿAlavī’s opus in the context of his attitude towards Christianity and the Bible. The presence of missionaries from Europe and the distribution of printed copies of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate among Shīʿī authors facilitated their access to an “official” version of the Gospels authorized by the Vatican. I show that ʿAlavī’s Persian refutations of Christianity, which are extant in different recensions of the text, provoked several rebuttals by members of a pontifical theological commission in

Rome. This was the beginning of modern disputations between Shī'ī and Catholic theologians.

Chapter Four leads us to the periphery of the Safavid Empire. It examines the Arabic and Persian recensions of a lesser known anti-Christian polemical work by the Shī'ī scholar Ṣahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī, who arrived in Georgia in the mid-seventeenth century. In Tbilisi, he engaged in several disputations with Roman Catholic and Arab Orthodox (Melkite) representatives and church leaders. Besides the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, he drew on liturgical books in Arabic of indigenous Christian communities, especially a Byzantine lectionary of the Divine Office. It contained the Arabic version of the Septuagint Psalms and Odes attributed to the eleventh-century scholar Ibn al-Faḍl, as used by Arabic-speaking Christians of the Byzantine rite. This example points to an often neglected source of biblical material, for it shows that lectionaries and books produced for liturgical needs were also accessible to Shī'ī scholars in Iran and used by them as a source for quotations from the Psalms and Deuteronomy.

Chapter Five brings us back to Isfahan in the late seventeenth century. It focuses on a Persian translation of the four Gospels commissioned by the shāh, which was made from the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate by the influential Shī'ī jurist Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī. Besides his literal translation, Khātūnābādī commented extensively on the Gospels to demonstrate alleged inconsistencies and contradictions. His marginal glosses show how a translation by a Muslim scholar was intertwined with anti-Christian polemics. The major purpose of Khātūnābādī's translation was to strengthen Shī'ī Muslim identity and to prepare for missionary propaganda. In the eighteenth century, the Roman Arabic Vulgate was superseded by other Arabic and Persian versions of the Gospels,

in particular by the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, printed copies of which were imported into Persia by a new generation of Catholic missionaries.

These five chapters are followed by seven appendices. In Appendices One to Four, I present comprehensive inventories of the manuscripts of °Alavī's and Tafrishī's anti-Christian polemical works as well as Khātūnābādī's Persian translation of the Gospels known so far. The manuscripts of °Alavī's and Tafrishī's works contain different recensions of the text, some of which were certainly written by the authors. Since they often vary regarding the number, length, and language of quotations from the Gospels, Psalms, and Odes, I have reproduced them in tables in Appendices Five to Seven. A comparison between the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and the Arabic version of the Septuagint Psalter, on the one hand, and °Alavī's and Tafrishī's quotations and/or Persian adaptations, on the other hand, clearly shows that the Shī'ī authors relied on the proposed Christian textual sources. In addition, °Alavī's quotations from the Gospels in a hitherto unknown Persian translation, dating from the early seventeenth century, may allow future researchers to identify this translation. Since Khātūnābādī's Persian translation from the Roman Arabic Vulgate is available in a printed edition, I have abstained from reproducing passages from his late seventeenth-century translation in the appendix.

The present study is an initial attempt to point out the importance of Arabic translations of biblical books for the Imāmī reception of the sacred Scriptures of the Christians in Persianate societies. The tradition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in pre-modern Iran is a new chapter in the general history of the Bible in Arabic in the Middle East and beyond. It is hoped that this dissertation will encourage further research on the Shī'ī study of Arabic versions of biblical books in Safavid Persia.

## Abbreviations

APF	Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Vatican City
Āstān-i Quds	Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds, Mashhad
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BL	British Library, London
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence
BNCR	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Rome
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
CMR600	<i>Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History</i> , vols 1-5, ed. D. Thomas et al., Leiden: Brill, 2009-13 (covers the period 600-1500).
CMR1900	<i>Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History</i> , vol. 6-, ed. D. Thomas et al., Leiden: Brill, 2014- (covers the period 1500-1914).
Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif	Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī, Tehran
Dānishgāh	Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānishgāh, Tehran
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> , vol. 1-, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-.

- Dharīʿa                      Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, 26 vols, Bayrūt: Dār al-Aḍwā<sup>9</sup>, 1403-06/[1983-86].
- DINĀ                        Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastnivishthā-yi Īrān (Dinā)*, 12 vols, Tīhrān: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/[2010].
- EI<sup>2</sup>                         *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, 13 vols, ed. P. J. Bearman et al., Leiden: Brill, 1960-2009.
- EI<sup>3</sup>                         *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, vol. 1-, ed. M. Gaborieau et al., Leiden: Brill, 2007-.
- EIr                         *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1-, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982-.
- Escorial                    Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, San Lorenzo
- FANKHĀ                    Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān: Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Īrān (Fankhā)*, vol. 1-, Tīhrān: Sāzmān-i Asnād va Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Jumhūrī-i Islāmī-i Īrān, 1390-/ [2012-].
- GCAL                      Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944-53.
- Majlis                      Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Tehran
- Malik                        Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik, Tehran
- Marʿashī                    Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā Marʿashī, Qum
- Millī                         Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān, Tehran



Muʿjam	<i>Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī. Muʿjam yatanāwalu dhikr asmāʾ al-muʿallafāt al-kalāmiyya (al-makhṭūṭāt wa-l-maṭbūʿāt) ʿabra l-qurūn wa-l-maktabāt allatī tatawaffaru fihā nusakhuhā</i> , 5 vols, ed. al-Lajna al-ʿilmiyya fī Muʿassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, Qum: Intishārāt Tawḥīd, 1423/1381/[2002].
Muṭahharī	Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Murtażā Muṭahharī (Sipahsālār), Tehran
NLR	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
SOCG	Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali

## Transliteration and Dates

I have used in this study the transliteration system for Arabic and Persian of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. The verses from the Bible are quoted according to the New Revised Standard Version (1989). Manuscripts (abbreviated MS) are indicated according to their location, library, collection, and shelf mark (e.g. Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5). I have used the following abbreviations for the different calendar systems: AG (Seleucid Era or ‘Anno Graecorum’), AH (Lunar Muslim Era of the Hijra), SH (Solar Muslim Era of the Hijra), AMart (Coptic Era of the Martyrs), and CE (Common Era).

## List of Illustrations

- 1 The monolingual version of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G.Bibbia.II.116) 41
- 2 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Or. 84, fols 1v and 228r,  
The opening of the Gospel of Matthew and the end of the Gospel of John (including the colophon) 55
- 3 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Res. 208, fols 440v and 441r,  
The end of the Gospel of John (including the colophon recopied from the *Vorlage*), with the signatures of some translators 62
- 4 The Arabic-Latin imprint of the monolingual version of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G.Bibbia.II.116); and Qum, Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-<sup>ḥ</sup>uẓmā Mar<sup>ḥ</sup>ashī, MS 12058/1-4, fol. 77v (detail), The recopied imprint of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic 75
- 5 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pers. 42, fol. 1v (detail),  
The seal impression of the Discalced Carmelite Juan Tadeo de San Elisio 81
- 6 Mashhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 60r (detail),  
Sayyid Aḥmad <sup>ḥ</sup>Alavī's "circle of prophethood" 131
- 7 Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān, MS 981, fols 1v and 2r,  
The opening of the Septuagint Psalter in Arabic 155
- 8 Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān, MS 480, fol. 105v,  
The opening of the Gospel of Luke in Arabic with a Persian interlinear translation 175

- 9 Mashhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 1r (detail),  
The title-page of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* with the *ex-libris* of the convent of the Discalced  
Carmelites in Isfahan 192
- 10 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 175v (detail),  
The end of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* with Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī's signature 193

## Introduction: Persian Translations of the Bible in Pre-Safavid Iran

Ever since the ground-breaking research conducted by Moritz Steinschneider, Ignác Goldziher, Martin Schreiner, and other Arabists and Islamicists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Muslim reception of the Bible through its Arabic translations has ranked among the classical fields of modern Islamic studies.<sup>6</sup> While earlier research tended to focus on the polemical arguments adduced in Muslim writings, contemporary scholars – influenced by the work of Moshe Perlmann (1905-2001) and Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (1930-98) – investigated textual interactions in these writings and, thus, the biblical (and pseudo-biblical) sources used by Muslim authors.<sup>7</sup> An identification of the various translation and transmission traditions shows that Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the Islamicate world were engaged in intellectual exchanges across cultural-religious boundaries during the Early and Middle Islamic periods.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Petra Figeac, *Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907). Begründer der wissenschaftlichen hebräischen Bibliographie*, Teetz/Berlin: Hentrich and Hentrich, 2007; Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, eds, *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, Leiden: Brill, 2012 (esp. the articles by Irene E. Zwiép and Norman Golb); Céline Trautmann-Waller et al., *Ignác Goldziher. Un autre orientalisme?*, Paris: Geuthner, 2011 (esp. the articles by Suzanne Marchand and C. Trautmann-Waller); Ottfried Fraisse, *Ignác Goldziher's monotheistische Wissenschaft. Zur Historisierung des Islam*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2014; Imre H. Schmelczer, "Martin Schreiner, 1863-1926," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 10 (1974): 83-93; Sabine Schmidtke, *Islamkunde und Wissenschaft des Judentums um die Jahrhundertwende. Martin Schreiner (1863-1926), sein Leben und sein Werk* (forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup> See Sabine Schmidtke, "Moshe Perlmann (1905-2001): A Scholarly Biography," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009): 1-31; eadem, "Moshe Perlmann (1905-2001): A Bibliography," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009): 33-61. In the absence of a biography of Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, see her major publication in the field of interreligious polemics, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> On the cross-cultural intellectual exchanges, see, e.g. Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden: Brill, 1996; Walid A. Saleh, "Sublime in Its Style,

The present study aims to disentangle the strands of the history of the Imāmī reception of the Gospels in Safavid Persia. I argue that the influence of Arabic versions of the Bible was not confined to Arabic-speaking lands, but also extended to Persianate societies and provoked a strong Muslim reception. In Iran during the seventeenth century, Shīʿī scholars had access to previous translations of the Scriptures into Arabic on which they extensively relied to refute the doctrines of Christianity (and Judaism) and to prove the veracity of Muslim beliefs. Besides possible Jewish and Christian informants, the Shīʿī authors gleaned the biblical material (directly or indirectly) from written sources of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim provenance.

The *Vorlagen* that were accessible to Shīʿī scholars were used simultaneously or successively, forming a conglomeration of variegated sources for Arabic renderings of the Bible, which can be detected in Shīʿī polemical works. The sources used for biblical material can be classified as follows:

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Exquisite in Its Tenderness’: The Hebrew Bible Quotations in Biqāʿī’s Qurʾān Commentary,” in: Y. Tz. Langermann and J. Stern, eds, *Adaptations and Innovations. Studies on the Interaction between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century, Dedicated to Professor Joel L. Kraemer*, Leuven: Peeters, 2007: 331-347; idem, *In Defense of the Bible: A Critical Edition and an Introduction to al-Biqāʿī’s Bible Treatise*, Leiden: Brill, 2008; idem and Kevin Casey, “An Islamic Diatessaron: Al-Biqāʿī’s Harmony of the Four Gospels,” in: S. Binay and St. Leder, eds, *Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-Critical and Literary Aspects*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2012: 85-115; Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008; Camilla Adang, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke, eds, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker*, Leiden: Brill, 2013; Sabine Schmidtke and Gregor Schwarb, eds, “Jewish and Christian Reception(s) of Muslim Theology” (= *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 [2014]); Mordechai Z. Cohen and Adele Berlin, eds, *Interpreting Scriptures in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Overlapping Inquiries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

- Earlier Muslim writings, in particular so-called ‘proofs of prophethood’ (Arab. *dalāʿil* or *aʿlām al-nubuwwa*) works, that comprise comprehensive collections of Arabic citations and/or paraphrases from the Scriptures, sometimes along with biblical verses in an Arabic transcription of the Hebrew, Aramaic/Syriac, and Greek made by Jewish or Christian converts to Islam (see Chapter Three).<sup>9</sup>
- Arabic translations of single biblical books or groups of books made from the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Coptic by Jews or Middle Eastern Christians. These translations

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<sup>9</sup> For the textual interaction between Muslim polemicists against the Bible, see, e.g. Camilla Adang, “A Rare Case of Biblical ‘Testimonies’ to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilite Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī’s *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-dawla* in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s *Ghurar al-adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī,” in: C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare, eds, *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007: 297-330; Sabine Schmidtke, “Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and Its Abrogation,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 61 (2008): 559-580; eadem, “Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 20 (2009): 105-118; eadem, “The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials: Ibn Qutayba and His *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22 (2011): 249-274; eadem, “Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Iran,” *Arabica* 59 (2012): 218-266; eadem, “Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Centuries),” *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 293 (2013): 221-240; eadem, “The Muslim Reception of the Bible: Al-Māwardī and His *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*,” in: C. Baffioni et al., eds, *Le sacre Scrittura e le loro interpretazioni*, Roma: Bulzoni, 2015: 1-27; Walid A. Saleh, “Reflections on Muslim Hebraism: Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus and al-Biqāʿi,” in: S. C. Akbari and K. Mallette, eds, *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013: 71-81; D. Halft, “Saʿīd b. Ḥasan al-Iskandarī: A Jewish Convert to Islam. *Editio princeps* of the Later Recension (732/1331) of His Biblical ‘Testimonies’ to the Prophet Muḥammad,” *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales* 30 (2014): 267-320; ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *The Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*, ed. R. Ebied and D. Thomas, Leiden: Brill, 2016.

On the transcription of biblical material in the languages employed by Jews and Christians into the Perso-Arabic script, see D. Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations in Arabic Transcription in Safavid Iran of the 11th/17th Century: Sayyed Aḥmad ʿAlavī’s Persian Refutations of Christianity,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 235-252; idem, “Ismāʿīl Qazvīnī: A 12th/18th-Century Jewish Convert to Imāmī Ṣūfism and His Critique of Ibn ʿEzra’s Commentary on the Four Kingdoms (Daniel 2:31-45),” in: M. L. Hjälms, ed., *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Leiden: Brill (forthcoming 2017).

were widely circulated in manuscript form in Jewish and Arab Christian communities and partly transcended the cultural-religious boundaries (see Chapter Four).<sup>10</sup>

- Printed copies of early modern editions of Arabic versions of the Bible, which were imported into Persian-speaking lands by missionaries from Europe. These texts were studied and reproduced by Shīʿī Muslims *in situ* through handwritten transcripts made from the printed editions (see Chapters Two and Five).

In contrast with Arabic versions of the Scriptures, we have no evidence of translations of the Bible into Persian from pre-Safavid times that were available to Shīʿī scholars in seventeenth-century Iran.<sup>11</sup> Although local Jews and Christians had translated parts of the Hebrew Bible,

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<sup>10</sup> For some recent publications, see Binay and Leder, *Translating the Bible into Arabic*; Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*; Camilla Adang, Meira Polliack, and Sabine Schmidtke, eds, “The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims” (= *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 [2013]); Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the “People of the Book” in the Language of Islam*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013; *al-Anājīl al-arbaʿa, tarjamat al-Asʿad Abī l-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn al-ʿAssāl (m. 1253)*, ed. and introduced by Ṣ. Q. Muʿawwad, al-Qāhira: Madrasat al-Iskandariyya, 2014 (I thank John G. Khalil for making the edition available to me); David D. Grafton, *The Contested Origins of the 1865 Arabic Bible: Contributions to the Nineteenth Century Nahḍa*, Leiden: Brill, 2015; *Evangelio árabe fragmentario de Marcos (Ms. Qarawiyīn 730). Una traducción árabe andalusí del siglo X*, ed. and introduced by J. P. Monferrer-Sala, Córdoba: CNERU, 2015; Miriam L. Hjälml, “The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel: Extant Versions, Canonical Constellations, and Relation to the Liturgical Practice, with an Appendix of ‘The Song of the Three Young Men’,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 12 (2015): 115-178; eadem, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2*, Leiden: Brill, 2016; eadem, *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition*; Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, Leiden: Brill, 2015; idem, *The Bible in Arabic: An Annotated Bibliography*, Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> A systematic and comprehensive study of the hundreds of Persian Bible manuscripts scattered in libraries throughout the Indo-Persian world, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe is still lacking. For an introduction, see Kenneth J. Thomas, *A Restless Search: A History of Persian Translations of the Bible*, with a contribution by A.-A. Aghbar, [Philadelphia, Pennsylvania] 2015; D. Halft, “The ‘Book of Books’ in Persian,” in: M. Pehlivanian, Ch. Rauch, and R. Vollandt, eds, *Oriental Bible Manuscripts from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: An Illustrated History*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 136-140 (forthcoming 2016).



the Peshitta, the Vulgata, and other versions into Persian in earlier centuries, these translations appear to have been used by the Jewish and Christian communities only for internal consumption. In what follows, a brief statement on research on Persian Bible translations made before the seventeenth century will be presented. Particular emphasis will be given to the Gospels, on which I wish to focus in the succeeding chapters of this study.

The earliest extant translations of the Scriptures into Persian are written in scripts different from the Perso-Arabic alphabet, namely Syriac and, in particular, Hebrew (the so-called Judaeo-Persian). Hence, these versions were inaccessible to the Muslim readership.<sup>12</sup> Among the earliest vestiges is the well-known fragmentary double folio of a bilingual Syriac-Persian Psalter represented in Syriac letters. The undated fragments, preserved in the Turfan collection in Berlin, were discovered in the ruins of Shūi-pang (Bulayiq), Chinese Turkestan, in the early twentieth century. The fragments contain a Persian translation of the Peshitta Psalms 131:18-132:1, 133:1-3, and 146:5-147:7, including the numbers and headings for Psalms 132, 133, and 147. Following the pioneering work of Friedrich W. K. Müller (1863-1930) and Werner Sundermann (1935-2012), a new edition of the bilingual Psalter with a transliteration and an English translation has recently been published by Nicholas Sims-Williams.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> In later centuries, Jewish converts to Islam or their immediate descendants transcribed Judaeo-Persian Bible manuscripts into the Perso-Arabic script for the benefit of their Muslim co-religionists. See D. Halft, “Crossing the Boundaries between Judaism and Twelver Shi‘i Islam: Judaeo-Persian Bible Translations Transcribed in Perso-Arabic Script” (forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> See Nicholas Sims-Williams, “Early New Persian in Syriac Script: Two Texts from Turfan,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 74 (2011): 353-374, esp. 353-361 (with facsim. of fols 1; 2; and further references to studies on the Syriac-Persian Psalter); Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 13-17, Chapter 2.1 (with a facsim. of fol. 4v), 61-63, Chapter 3.4.2.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Syriac characters were still used to write Persian liturgical texts, such as the Lord’s Prayer. See Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Now in the*

Other biblical texts were written in what is called ‘Early Judaeo-Persian’ (8<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century) or Judaeo-Persian (from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards), namely scriptural translations and/or commentaries (Pers. *tafsīr*), as well as liturgical texts.<sup>14</sup> Among the earliest known sources are two commentaries on Ezekiel 1:21-39:29 as well as 1:27-2:6; 20:43(?); 21:2-3, 8-9; 23:41, 43, 45-49, and 24:1-4 in fragmentary form. Only a portion of the text was published by Carl H. Salemann (1849-1916), but Thamar E. Gindin has recently edited and translated all extant fragments of the commentaries into English.<sup>15</sup> As part of the Geniza of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, the fragments presumably date from the late tenth or early eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> Additional scriptural material in ‘Early Judaeo-Persian’ from the Cairo Geniza (mostly of Karaite provenance) still remains to be explored.<sup>17</sup>

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*Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, 4 vols, Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1933-63, 1:578, Mingana 299, Section G.

<sup>14</sup> For an introduction to the various forms of Judaeo-Persian, see Thamar E. Gindin, “Judeo-Persian Communities viii. Judeo-Persian Language,” in: EIr, 15 (2009): 132-139; Ludwig Paul, *A Grammar of Early Judaeo-Persian*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013, esp. 9-14; Borjian, Habib, “Judeo-Iranian Languages,” in: L. Khan and A. D. Rubin, eds, *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, Leiden: Brill, 2016: 234-295, Chapter 10. See also the articles published in Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, ed., “Judeo-Persian Special Issue” (= *Irān Nāmeḥ*, New Series 1/2 [1395/2016]).

For references to studies on Judaeo-Persian Bible translations, see Jes P. Asmussen, “Bible vi. Judeo-Persian Translations,” in: EIr, 4 (1989): 208-209; Shaul Shaked, “Reshimat targume ha-miḳra le-parsit-yehudit” [List of Judaeo-Persian Bible Translations], *Pe’amim* 84 (2000): 12-20; Amnon Netzer, “Judeo-Persian Communities ix. Judeo-Persian Literature,” in: EIr, 15 (2009): 139-156; Thamar E. Gindin, *The Early Judaeo-Persian Tafsīrs of Ezekiel: Text, Translation, Commentary*, 2 vols, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, 1:267-283; Paul, *A Grammar*, 15-18; Vera B. Moreen, *Catalog of Judeo-Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 409-419; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 50-61, Chapter 3.4.1.

<sup>15</sup> See Gindin, *The Early Judaeo-Persian Tafsīrs* (with further references to studies on the ‘Early Judaeo-Persian’ commentaries on Ezekiel).

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, 1:26.

<sup>17</sup> For further details, see Shaul Shaked, “Early Judaeo-Persian Texts with Notes on a Commentary to Genesis,” in: L. Paul, ed., *Persian Origins – Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian. Collected Papers of the Symposium, Göttingen 1999*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003: 195-219. An analysis

After the Mongol invasion of the Middle East during the thirteenth century, Iranian Jews continued to translate biblical books into Judaeo-Persian. For instance, among the extant Pentateuch translations, which have mainly been investigated by Herbert H. Paper (1925-2012), the earliest dated manuscript, London, BL, MS Or. 5446, 124 fols (partly defective), was completed by Josef bar Mosheh on 24 Adar II 1630 AG (=15 March 1319).<sup>18</sup> In 1546, Eliezer ben Gershom Soncino included another Judaeo-Persian version attributed to Jacob ben Josef Ṭāvūs in his Polyglot Pentateuch printed in Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> This printing is acknowledged as the earliest Judaeo-Persian (and New Persian) text that went to press. Ṭāvūs's Pentateuch version was transcribed into Perso-Arabic characters by the English orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) and incorporated, along with a Latin translation, into the London Polyglot (printed between 1652 and 1657).<sup>20</sup>

Several Judaeo-Persian Bible manuscripts dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were collected by the Florentine traveler Giovanni Battista Vecchietti (1552-1619)

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of 'Early Judaeo-Persian' biblical exegesis of the Karaites is the focus of the forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Ofir Haim at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

In recent decades, biblical material in 'Early Judaeo-Persian' have also re-emerged in private collections in Iran. See Amnon Netzer, "An Early Judeo-Persian Fragment from Zefreh: Psalms 44:24-27, 45:1-9 and 55:2-16," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 27 (2002): 419-438.

<sup>18</sup> For a description of this manuscript, including its colophon, see Max Seligsohn, "The Hebrew-Persian Mss. of the British Museum," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 15 (1903): 278-301. For an edition, see Herbert H. Paper, *Targum ha-Torah le-parsit-yehudit. A Judeo-Persian Pentateuch: The Text of the Oldest Judeo-Persian Pentateuch Translation, British Museum Ms. Or. 5446*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1972 [with an English introduction]. See also idem, "Judeo-Persian Bible Translations," in: D. M. Goldenberg, ed., *Translation of Scripture: Proceedings of a Conference at the Annenberg Research Institute, May 15-16, 1989*, Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1990: 139-160; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 100-102, Chapter 4.3.6b.

<sup>19</sup> For details, see Walter J. Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India," *The Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 3-45, esp. 5-7; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 116-121, Chapter 5.5.

<sup>20</sup> On the history of the London Polyglot, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 128-129, Chapter 5.4 (with further references to studies on the London Polyglot).

during his sojourn in Iran (and India), where he searched for ‘ancient versions’ of the Bible.<sup>21</sup> Local scribes such as the Persian Christian Shams al-Dīn ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Qalātī Khunjī assisted Vecchietti with transcribing Judaeo-Persian translations of the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Esther, Ruth, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Baruch into the Perso-Arabic script. The traveler brought the transcribed texts, along with other manuscripts, to Rome for their presentation to the pope. Some of the copies entered the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, while others are held today by the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.<sup>22</sup>

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Middle Eastern Christians translated the Gospels from Syriac and Arabic into Persian. These translations are invariably written in the letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet and thus could potentially have been accessed by Muslims. Nevertheless, they appear to have circulated exclusively among Christians. The earliest known manuscript is a Persian version of the Gospel of Matthew, which is preserved in Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 4, 78 fols.<sup>23</sup> The translation made from Syriac and/or Arabic was

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<sup>21</sup> For details, see Fischel, “The Bible in Persian Translation,” 7-21; Francis Richard, “Les frères Vecchietti, diplomates, érudits et aventuriers,” in: A. Hamilton, M. H. van den Boogert, and B. Westerweel, eds, *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden: Brill, 2005: 11-26; Angelo M. Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d’Italia*, Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1989, 37-46; idem, “G.B. Vecchietti e la letteratura giudeo-persiana,” *Materia giudaica. Rivista dell’associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo* 15-16 (2010-11): 483-500; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], Département des manuscrits, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 2/1: Le supplément persan, 1 à 524, ed. F. Richard, Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2013, 35-41; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 97-99, Chapter 4.3.6.

<sup>22</sup> See Francis Richard, “Les manuscrits persans rapportés par les frères Vecchietti et conservés aujourd’hui à la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980): 291-300; idem, “Les frères Vecchietti,” 11-16; Piemontese, “G.B. Vecchietti,” 494-499.

<sup>23</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca vaticana*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939, 167-169, no. 30; Ettore Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca vaticana: Vaticani*,

copied by a certain Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd ibn Ibrāhīm, and is dated to the beginning of Rajab 712 AH (=November 1312).<sup>24</sup> The provenance of MS Pers. 4 and the circumstances under which it was brought to Rome remain unclear. As the first Persian manuscript that entered the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was studied by Vecchietti (after his return to Rome) and reproduced by T'ovmačean Avetik', an Armenian scribe from Aleppo who sojourned in Rome in the late sixteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Another early translation of all four Gospels was presumably made from Syriac and later corrected against the Arabic.<sup>26</sup> It is extant in several seventeenth-century manuscripts, some of which have preserved the colophons of the original *Vorlage*. The scribe is identified as Sarkīs Lūj ibn Amīr Malik, who completed his copy in 718 AH (=1318) or 728 AH

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*barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948, 29-30; Angelo M. Piemontese, "84. Vangelo di Matteo. Persiano," in: F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello, and A. M. Piazzoni, eds, *I Vangeli dei Popoli. La Parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, Roma: Rinascimento nello Spirito Santo, 2000, 332-334 (with facsim. of fols 68v; 69r). See also Roberto Gulbenkian, "The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 36 (1980): 186-218 (I), 267-288 (II), 37 (1981):35-57 (III) (repr. in: Roberto Gulbenkian, *Estudos históricos*, 3 vols, Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1995, 3:9-108), esp. 212; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 84-87, Chapter 4.3.2.

<sup>24</sup> See Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 4, fol. 78r:8-10.

<sup>25</sup> See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, 168, 216-217; Gulbenkian, "The Translation," 212; Richard, "Les frères Vecchietti," 16; Angelo M. Piemontese, "Vaticani persiani," in: F. D'Aiuto and P. Vian, eds, *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca vaticana*, 2 vols, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011, 1:644-646, esp. 644; idem, "La raccolta vaticana di *Orientalia*: Asia, Africa ed Europa," in: *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 3: La Vaticana nel seicento (1590-1700), Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014: 427-460, esp. 447.

<sup>26</sup> See Anton D. Pritula, *Hristianstvo i persidskaâ knižnost' XIII-XVII vv.* [Christianity and Persian Booklore, 13th-17th Centuries], Sankt-Peterburg: D. Bulanin, 2004 [with an English summary], 24-27, Chapter 1.3, 155; Leonard Harrow, "Jérôme Xavier and Two Persian Gospels (mss. cod. 7964 and cod. 7965) in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal at Lisbon," in: N. Balutet, P. Otaola, and D. Tempère, eds, *Contrabandista entre mundos fronterizos. Hommage au Professeur Hugues Didier*, Paris: Publibook, 2010: 117-134, esp. 127-129. See also Gulbenkian, "The Translation," 187-194; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 87-90, Chapter 4.3.3. See also *ibid.*, 94-97, Chapter 4.3.5.

(=1328).<sup>27</sup> The translation is related to the one included in Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 19, 256 fols, dated 738 AH (=1338).<sup>28</sup> This manuscript is composed of two volumes, written by Amīn al-Dīn ibn Qutlughbeg and Żiyā al-Dīn ibn al-Ra<sup>c</sup>ūf mawlā Nā<sup>ʿ</sup>ib Nūr al-Dīn, known as Kilamjī Ifranjī. Angelo M. Piemontese has suggested that the last-mentioned scribe was a Dominican or Franciscan friar, presumably from Greater Armenia.<sup>29</sup> Other mendicant missionaries seem to have amended the text during the fourteenth century. At the end of the same century, the codex was in the possession of Khizr Shāh, a Christian of Turkish or Turkman origin.<sup>30</sup> Several glosses in Latin and Persian transcribed in Latin script show that the lexis used in MS Borg. pers. 19 is partly identical with the lemmas of the medieval Latin-Persian-Turkish (Cuman) dictionary of the so-called Codex Cumanicus, a well-known collection of different vocabularies.<sup>31</sup>

An interesting case that sheds light on the interaction between Syriac Christians in the northwest of Iran, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea is a Persian translation of the four Gospels made from the Peshitta, which is extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke

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<sup>27</sup> See Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 269-272; Harrow, “Jérôme Xavier,” 122-124.

<sup>28</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 173-174; Angelo M. Piemontese, “88. Vangeli. Persiano,” in: D’Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, 338-339 (with facsim. of fols 188v; 189r); idem, “Un testo latino-persiano connesso al Codex Cumanicus,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 53 (2000): 121-132; idem, “Le glosse sul Vangelo persiano del 1338 e il Codex Cumanicus,” in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 8, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2001, 313-349 (with facsim. of fols 188v; 189r; 200v; 203v); idem, “Il Codex Cumanicus alla luce delle glosse sul Vangelo persiano datato 1338,” in: F. Schmieder and P. Schreiner, eds, *Il Codice Cumanico e il suo mondo: atti del colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 6-7 dicembre 2002*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005, 183-198 (with facsim. of fols 188v; 189r; 200v; 203v).

<sup>29</sup> See Piemontese, “88. Vangeli. Persiano,” 338; idem, “Le glosse,” 321-322; idem, “Il Codex Cumanicus,” 184, 186-187, 194.

<sup>30</sup> See Piemontese, “Le glosse,” 318-319.

<sup>31</sup> For details, see Piemontese, “Un testo latino-persiano”; idem, “Le glosse,” 337-339; idem, “Il Codex Cumanicus.”

241, 170 fols.<sup>32</sup> According to the main colophon at the end of the Gospel of John, the manuscript was copied by the Christian scribe Shīmūn ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Tabrizī at the request of Amīr ibn Sahm al-Dawla ibn Shīrāna Taflīsī. It was completed in Kaffa (ancient Theodosia), in the Crimean Peninsula, in 1341 CE.<sup>33</sup> The manuscript bears four colophons, one at the end of each Gospel. The Gospel of Matthew is dated 4 Ūnīs (=4 June), Luke is dated 28 Ḥuzayrān (=28 June), and John is dated 9 Tammūz (=9 July).<sup>34</sup> The Gospel of Mark is undated, but signed by Shīmūn ibn Yūsuf in Kaffa.<sup>35</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, this Persian translation was incorporated into the London Polyglot, being the first Persian version of the Gospels printed in Europe.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The four Gospels are structured with 135 chapters (Pers. *faṣl*) for Matthew, 65 chapters for Mark, 143 chapters for Luke, and 43 chapters for John. Photographs from a microfilm of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 241 are available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 6364 (°aksī), 2 vols.

For descriptions of this manuscript, see Eduard Sachau and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī, and Pushtū Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols, Oxford: Clarendon, 1889-1954, 1:1053-1054, no. 1835; Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilmhā-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān*, 3 vols, Tīhrān: Dānishgāh, 1348-63/[1969-84], 3:250. See also Pritula, *Hristianstvo i persidskaâ knižnost'*, 21-23, Chapter 1.2, 154-155; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 105-107, 4A. Excursus 2.

<sup>33</sup> For the main colophon, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 241, fols 169v:14-170r:12. A Latin translation is published in the London Polyglot (see *Biblia sacra polyglotta: complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum. Versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat. quicquid comparari poterat: cum textuum, & versionum orientalium translationibus Latinis [...] cum apparatu, appendicibus, tabulis, variis lectionibus, annotationibus, indicibus, &c.*, 6 vols, ed. B. Walton, London: Th. Roycroft, 1653-57, 1:102, no. 9.1).

<sup>34</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 241, fols 64r:7-8; 138v:1-2; 169v:14-18.

<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 91v:14-15.

<sup>36</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 241 is identified by the editor of the London Polyglot as the *Vorlage* for the Persian version of the Gospels. See *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, 1:102, no. 9. See also Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1977, 277-278, no. 1; Gulbenkian, "The Translation," 282; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 90-94, Chapter 4.3.4; D. Halfit, "A Persian Gospel Manuscript and the London Polyglot," in: Pehlivanian, Rauch, and Vollandt, *Oriental Bible Manuscripts*, 141-143.

Besides the text of the Gospels, MS Pococke 241 contains an introduction to the Gospels that consists of a short commentary (Pers. *sharḥ-i mukhtaṣar*) of ten chapters (fols 1v-14r) and a register of *tituli* of the four Gospels (fols 14r-20r), all of which are in Persian.<sup>37</sup> In the introduction, the Persian translation is attributed to Yūḥannā ibn al-Qass Yūsuf Ya<sup>c</sup>qūbī, who was the son of a cleric (Arab. *qass*) of the Syriac Orthodox Church or the Church of the East.<sup>38</sup> The author states that he wrote the introduction during a sojourn in Tbilisi, Georgia, where he had no Syriac or Arabic books at his disposal.<sup>39</sup> He further relates that he had previously composed another commentary on the same subject, of which neither the title nor the language is identified.<sup>40</sup> MS Pococke 241 shows that Gospel manuscripts can contain, along with the text of the Scriptures, valuable information for “our understanding of the translating, copying, and transmission of the scriptures,” which have often been ignored by previous scholarship that was focussed exclusively on the biblical text.<sup>41</sup>

Another well-known translation of the Gospels which is related to the one included in MS Pococke 241 is a Persian harmony of the Gospels made from a Syriac *Vorlage*, with a certain influence of the Arabic. When, in the 1940s, the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Messina (1893-1951) investigated what he called the ‘Persian Diatessaron’, he came to the conclusion that both translations had “a common [Syriac] source” (Ital. *una fonte comune*).<sup>42</sup> The

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<sup>37</sup> Neither the short commentary nor the register of *tituli* is printed in the London Polyglot.

<sup>38</sup> See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 241, fol. 13v:12.

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 13v:7-8.

<sup>40</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 6v:14.

<sup>41</sup> Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 132. Sidney H. Griffith’s lament about this neglect is not only true for Arabic Bible manuscripts but also for those in Persian.

<sup>42</sup> Giuseppe Messina, *Diatessaron persiano*, Roma: Pontificio Istituto biblico, 1951 [with an Ital. transl.] (repr. *Diyātassarūn*, [Tīhrān]: Nūr-i Jahān, n.d. [without Ital. transl., with a Persian introduction by an unidentified editor, and on the title-page, the cross of the Episcopal (Anglican) Church in Persia]; Yūḥannā ‘Izz al-Dīn, *Diyātasārūn-i fārsī: Taṣḥīḥ va tarjamah-i itālīyāʿī-i Jūsipa Mīsīnā, bā dū guftār az Ī. Afshār, Ḥ. Rīzāʿī*



earliest known manuscript of the Persian harmony of the Gospels, Florence, BML, MS Or. 81, 130 fols, was completed by the Syriac Orthodox cleric Ibrāhīm ibn Shammās °Abd Allāh Ḥiṣṅkayfī in the city of Ḥiṣn Kayfā on the Tigris on 8 Shawwāl 954 AH (=21 November 1547).<sup>43</sup> The illuminated copy was commissioned by the Armenian *catholicos* Stephanos V (r. 1541-64) on the occasion of his meeting with Pope Paul III (r. 1534-49) in Rome in 1548.<sup>44</sup>

The name of the translator of the Persian harmony of the Gospels is not explicitly mentioned in MS Or. 81. However, we read in two ‘letter squares’ (Pers. *murabba°-i ḥurūf*) at the end of the codex that the translator was a certain Īwān[n]īs, known as °Izz al-Dīn.<sup>45</sup> His full name appears in two later copies of the same Persian harmony of the Gospels that have so far escaped scholarly attention, namely Benediktinerabtei St. Bonifaz in Munich and Andechs, Archive Kloster Andechs, MS Rehm 110, 296 fols, completed on 7 Dhū l-Qa°da 1011 AH (=18 April 1603), and Tehran, Millī, MS 4437 [519], 172 fols, dated 20 Rajab 1111

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*Bāghbīdī*, Tih-rān: Asāṭīr 1387/[2008-09]), lxxxvii, xci. For a comparison between both translations, see also Pritula, *Hristianstvo i persidskaâ knižnost*, 10-21, Chapter 1.1, 154.

<sup>43</sup> See Florence, BML, MS Or. 81, fol. 123v:7-9; Messina, *Diatessaron persiano*, 380. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Stefano E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mms. [sic!] orientalium catalogus*, Florentiae: Albizianiano, 1742, 59-61, no. 17; Giuseppe Messina, *Notizia su un Diatessaron Persiano tradotto dal siriaco*, Roma: Pontificio Istituto biblico, 1943; Bruce M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of the New Testament Textual Criticism*, Leiden: Brill, 1963, 97-120; Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 104-108, no. 140; N. Peter Joosse, “An Introduction to the So-Called Persian Diatessaron of Īwānnīs °Izz al-Dīn of Tabrīz: The Testimony of John 2:1-11 (the Wedding at Cana),” *Oriens Christianus* 86 (2002): 13-45; Pier G. Borbone, Sara Fani, Margherita Farina et al., “Catalogo,” in: S. Fani and M. Farina, eds, *Le vie delle lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l’Oriente*, Firenze: Mandragora, 2012: 86-218, here 130-133, no. 19; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 74-84, Chapter 4.3.1. For an edition based on Florence, BML, MS Or. 81, see Messina, *Diatessaron persiano*.

In contrast with a widespread opinion, Florence, BML, MS Or. 81 is not a *unicum*. It was the direct *Vorlage* for the copy preserved in Florence, BML, MS Or. 399, 321 fols. See Messina, *Notizia*, 13; Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 108. For other manuscripts of the same Persian harmony of the Gospels, see below.

<sup>44</sup> See Florence, BML, MS Or. 81, fol. 124v; Messina, *Notizia*, 13-15; Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 284-288; Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 106-107.

<sup>45</sup> See Florence, BML, MS Or. 81, fol. 124r; Messina, *Notizia*, 37-39.

AH (=11 January 1700).<sup>46</sup> In both manuscripts that were transmitted independently from MS Or. 81 the translator is identified in the introduction as Yaḥyā ibn ʿAwad̄ Tabrīzī Armanī.<sup>47</sup> Despite the two different forms of the name of John – Īwānnīs and Yaḥyā – that appear in the manuscripts, there is reasonable certainty that they refer to the same translator, namely an Armenian who probably hailed from Tabrīz.

Translations of the Gospels into Persian were also made from Latin. Such a translation is extant in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 675, 119 fols.<sup>48</sup> The copy was completed by the Christian scribe Abū l-Faraj ibn Shams al-Dīn ibn Abī l-ʿalā Tabrīzī in Pera, near Istanbul.<sup>49</sup> The date in the colophon is Rajab 869 AH (=February-March 1465). The Persian text of the Gospels is structured according to the chapter divisions of the Vulgata. A comparison between the Persian translation and the Vulgata shows that many renderings of proper names follow the Latin *Vorlage*, as against the Semitic equivalents commonly used in Persian versions of the Gospels made from Syriac and Arabic (e.g. *Sāṭānā* [Lat. *Satan*], *Ṭīrūs va-Shīdūn* [Lat. *Tyrus et Sidon*], *parīsīsiyān va-sādūqiyān* [Lat. *pharisaei et sadducaeī*], *Shimʿūn Bīṭrūs* [Lat. *Simon Petrus*]).<sup>50</sup> The Latin declensions of nouns have been partly

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<sup>46</sup> For descriptions of these manuscripts, see D. Halft, “Benediktinerabtei St. Bonifaz in München und Andechs, Archiv Kloster Andechs, Hs. Rehm 110,” in: *Katalog der christlich-orientalischen Handschriften des Klosters Andechs* (forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> See Benediktinerabtei St. Bonifaz in Munich and Andechs, Archive Kloster Andechs, MS Rehm 110, fols 24v:6; 26r:12-13; Tehran, Milli, MS 4437, fols 19r:11-12; 20r:13.

<sup>48</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Jan J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, 25 vols, Leiden: Ter Lugt, 2007, 1:284.

<sup>49</sup> See Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 675, fol. 119r:13-22. The colophon was published in Michael J. de Goeje et al., *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 6 vols, Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1851-77, 5:90.

<sup>50</sup> See, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 675, fols 4v:10; 13v:18, 20; 19r:4-5, 11-12, 18; 93r:8, 11-12.

retained in MS Or. 675, such as the accusative case of *Syria* in Matthew 4:24 “throughout all Syria” (Pers. *dar hama-yi zamān-i Sīryām* [Lat. *in totam Syriam*]).<sup>51</sup>

Besides the extant continuous translations of the four Gospels, liturgical manuscripts with a collection of selected portions of the Scriptures are also an important source for our understanding of the history of Persian Bible translations. The codex Paris, BNF, MS Pers. 3, 183 fols (defective at the beginning) [not seen by me], contains a Persian lectionary of the Gospels for Sundays and feasts of the liturgical year of the Church of the East.<sup>52</sup> About 200 commentaries (Pers. *sharḥ* or *tafsīr*) in Persian on selected verses have been inserted into the text of the Gospels. The manuscript was completed by an anonymous scribe in the city of Qrīm (Şulghāt), in the Crimean Peninsula, in Jumāda II 776 AH (=November-December 1374). Some marginal notes in classical Armenian indicate that MS Pers. 3 was also studied by Armenians. Further manuscripts of translations of biblical material into Persian still await close examination.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned examples clearly show that translations of the Gospels and other biblical books into Persian were widely circulated among Jews, Syriac Christians, and Armenians in Persianate societies during the Early and Middle Islamic periods. Nevertheless, these versions do not seem to have crossed the cultural-religious boundaries of the Jewish and Christian communities. When, in the seventeenth century, Imāmī polemicists turned their attention to the Bible, they apparently did not rely on Persian translations by Jews or Christians. As a general rule, there were no theological or ideological

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<sup>51</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 5r:15.

<sup>52</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Francis Richard, “Un lectionnaire persan des Évangiles copié en Crimée en 776H./1374,” *Studia Iranica* 10 (1981): 225-245; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], Département des manuscrits, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 1: Ancien fonds, ed. F. Richard, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1989, 29-30; Pritula, *Hristianstvo i persidskaâ knižnost'*, 34-35, Chapter 1.6, 156.

considerations regarding the source, as one could assume, but the very availability and accessibility of biblical texts in a language and script used by Shī'ī scholars seem to have determined their selection.

## PART ONE

### **Chapter 1: From Egypt via Rome to Persia: The Arabic Vulgate at Cultural Crossroads**

For many centuries, the Muslim study of the Bible was predominantly an internal affair of the Islamic world. Single biblical books or groups of books circulated in Arabic translation among Muslims, Jews, and Middle Eastern Christians. Thanks to a common language (Arabic), these books transcended the cultural-religious boundaries of the different communities without major interference of Western Christendom. Until the Renaissance, and the age of printing, neither the Roman Church nor any other European power had a significant impact on the dissemination of texts among the religious communities in the Middle East.

All this began to change in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mainly as a result of the Humanist movement, the invention of the European printing press, and the beginning of a new age of missions. Theologians and linguists became aware of discrepancies between the different versions of the Scriptures that were extant not only in the original languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, but also in various translations into Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and other vernaculars. Scholars travelled to distant lands in the Middle East as well as Ethiopia, Persia, and India to locate, purchase, and bring ‘ancient’ Bible manuscripts (or handwritten copies made from the manuscripts) to Europe for further study and exploration.

With the new science of critical philology, the advent of printing in scripts other than Latin, and with the emergence of a commercial book market, different versions of the Scriptures became accessible to a wider (scholarly) audience in both the West and the East. Publication of Arabic versions of biblical books in the early printing centers of Rome and Leiden, and later of Paris and London, had global repercussions. Some of the printed texts, based on the newly available manuscripts from collections in the Middle East, were imported to the Islamicate societies and became the preferred versions consulted by Muslim scholars for the study of the biblical text. The Arabic print culture in Europe thus directly contributed to the dissemination of Middle Eastern Christian translations of the Scriptures among Muslim audiences.

Part One of this study highlights the new connectivity between Europe, the Middle East, and Persia during the early modern period. In the following two chapters, I will show how a medieval Arabic translation of the Gospels made by Coptic and/or Syriac Christians became highly influential on the Shīʿī perception of Christianity in Persianate societies. As one of the most effective missionary tools of the Vatican, the medium of Arabic print laid the foundation for a large Shīʿī reception of the Bible in Iran. The printed edition of the Arabic version of the Gospels thus contributed, in the context of a global mission of the Roman Church, to the dissemination of an Arabic translation of the Gospels far beyond the Arabic-speaking domains of the Middle East.

With the influx of Catholic missionaries to Safavid Persia during the seventeenth century and the increase of interreligious exchanges, Shīʿī scholars had unprecedented access to a standardized version of the Gospels authorized by the Roman Church. The availability of a substantial number of printed copies of this Arabic translation of the four Gospels provided

an arsenal of previously hard to find material that would in turn give impetus for the composition of several Imāmī refutations of the Bible. Therefore, the advent of Arabic printing and the emergence of a missionary movement fundamentally changed the Shīʿī reception of the Scriptures as well as Muslim-Christian encounters in seventeenth-century Persia.

## 1.1 A Manuscript of Coptic Provenance in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome: The First Publication of the Gospels in Arabic Translation

The story of the Gospels in Safavid Iran cannot be told without acknowledging the importance of the printing of religious books in Post-Tridentine Rome. The decades following the Council of Trent (1545-47, 1551-52, 1562-63), known as the Council of the ‘Counter Reformation’ against Luther and the Protestants, witnessed a strong renewal of missionary activity. At a time when the Church was losing ground in Europe, she turned towards other parts of the world to propagate the Catholic faith. As a result, the production of printed texts increased significantly in Catholic lands.<sup>53</sup> As we will see in this chapter, the publication of an Arabic translation of the Gospels censored by the Vatican was used as an instrument of propaganda to evangelize Muslims in Persia. Events in Isfahan and Rome are thus closely interrelated and cannot be fully understood independently of one another.

In 1590/91, as the Medici Oriental Press in Rome was printing its debut publication in Arabic script with movable metal type engraved by the well-known French typographer Robert Granjon, a new chapter was inaugurated in Muslim-Christian history.<sup>54</sup> This printing

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<sup>53</sup> For details, see, e.g. R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Natalia Maillard Álvarez, ed., *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

<sup>54</sup> On the history of the printing press, see Guglielmo E. Saltini, “Della Stamperia Orientale Medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi,” *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* 4 (1860): 257-308; Antonio Bertolotti, “Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII,” *Rivista europea* 9 (1878): 217-268; Cirillo Korolevskij, *La typographie médicéenne et les publications orientales à Rome à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rome: unpublished typescript, 1924, preserved in BAV, Stampe, Res. III.97 (I have accessed the study through a copy that is held by the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, BM 31.794); Alberto Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale*, Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1987; John Robert Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe,” in: G. A. Russell, ed.,



was the *editio princeps* of the four canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in Arabic translation. For the first time in history, the fundamental scriptures of Christian faith had gone to press in the *lingua franca* of the Middle East, common to Eastern Christians and, of course, Muslims. The ready availability of the Gospels produced and printed in Arabic translation had, as shown here, a significant influence on the later Muslim reception of the Bible.

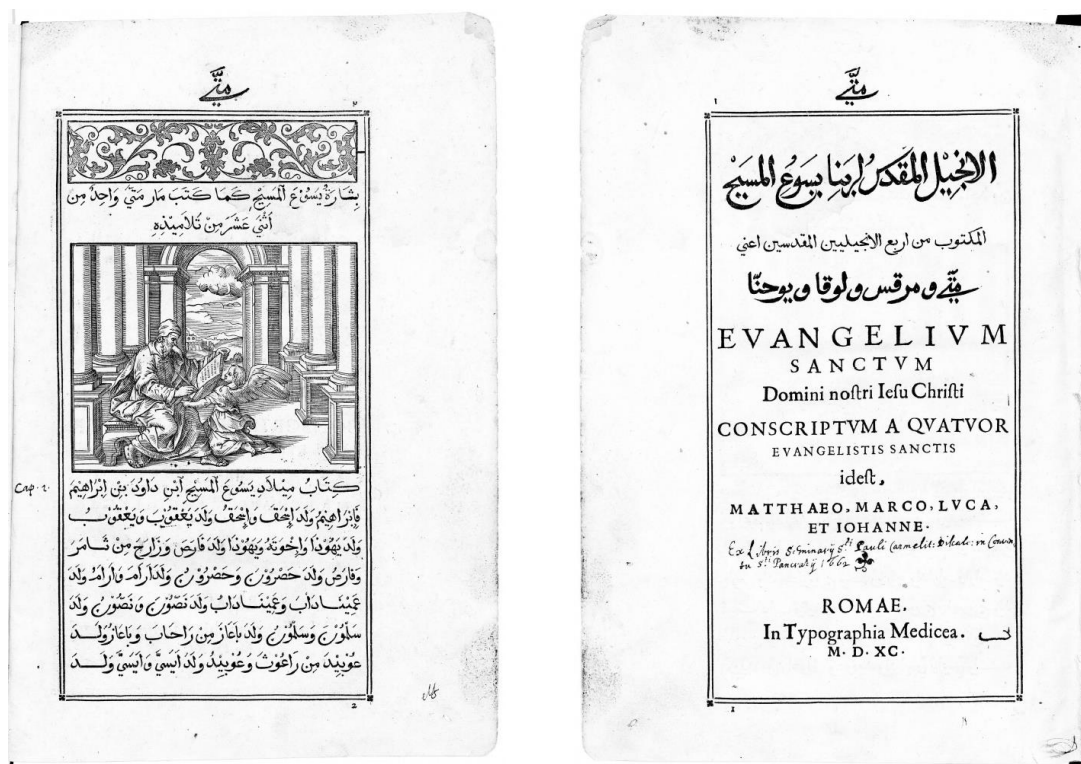


Figure 1. The monolingual version of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G.Bibbia.II.116), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The edition of the Gospels in Arabic by the Medici Oriental Press, with woodcuts by the Florentine engraver Antonio Tempesta, was published in two versions, namely a

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*The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden: Brill, 1994: 88-108; Geoffrey Roper, "Early Arabic Printing in Europe," in: E. Hanebutt-Benz, D. Glass, and G. Roper, eds, *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002: 129-150, 526-529, esp. 135, 138-142; Fani and Farina, *Le vie delle lettere*.

monolingual as well as a bilingual version with a Latin interlinear translation.<sup>55</sup> Both versions were destined for the commercial market in East and West, as well as for the mission among Muslims and non-Catholic Christians in Islamicate societies.<sup>56</sup> The bilingual version of the edition was also used for training future missionaries in the Arabic language.<sup>57</sup> Due to the financial support of the Medici family, the press run was exceptionally large: 1,500 copies of the monolingual and 3,500 copies of the Arabic-Latin version.<sup>58</sup> The fact that only a third of

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<sup>55</sup> See *al-Injīl al-muqaddas li-rabbinā Yasūʿ al-Masīh al-maktūb min arbaʿ al-Injīliyyīn al-muqaddasīn aʿnī Mattay wa-Marqus wa-Lūqā wa-Yuḥannā* (= *Euangelium sanctum domini nostri Iesu Christi conscriptum a quatuor euangelistis sanctis idest Matthaео, Marco, Luca et Iohanne*), Romae: Typogr. Medicea, 1591 (Arab. version); *Arbaʿat Anājīl Yasūʿ al-Masīh sayyidnā al-muqaddasa* (= *Sacrosancta quatuor Iesu Christi D. N. Euangelia: Arabice scripta, Latine reddita, figurisque ornata*), Romae: Typogr. Medicea, 1591 (Arab.-Lat. version; reis., Rome, 1619; Florence, 1774). The title-pages of the printings are dated 1590.

For descriptions of this edition, see GCAL, 1:158-159; Delio Vania Proverbio, “123. Tetravangelo. Arabo. (Roma, Stamperia Medicea Orientale, 1591),” in: D’Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, 420-422 (with facsim. of the title-page and p. 6 of the Arab. version); Antonella Lumini, ed., *La Bibbia. Edizioni del XVI secolo*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2000, 252-254, nos 290-292; Hanebutt-Benz et al., *Middle Eastern Languages*, 483-484, no. 69; Sara Centi, ed., *Le cinquecentine della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*, 2 vols, Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002, 1:97-98, nos 256-257; Richard S. Field, *Antonio Tempesta’s Blocks and Woodcuts for the Medicean 1591 Arabic Gospels*, Paris: Les Enluminures, 2011; Borbone et al., “Catalogo,” 204-209.

<sup>56</sup> See Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press”; Maurits H. van den Boogert, “The Sultan’s Answer to the Medici Press? Ibrahim Müteferrika’s Printing House in Istanbul,” in: A. Hamilton et al., *The Republic of Letters*: 265-291, esp. 278-279; Pier G. Borbone, “Introduzione,” in: Fani and Farina, *Le vie delle lettere*: 19-42; Sara Fani, “Gli esiti della Tipografia Medicea,” in: *ibid.*, 73-84.

<sup>57</sup> See Arduino Kleinhans, *Historia studii linguae Arabicae et collegii missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in conventu ad S. Petrum in Monte Aureo Romae erecti*, Firenze: Quaracchi, 1930, 14; Angelo M. Piemontese, “Grammatica e lessicografia araba in Italia dal XVI al XVII secolo,” in: M. Tavoni et al., eds, *Italy and Europe in Renaissance Linguistics: Comparisons and Relations. Proceedings of the International Conference, Ferrara, Palazzo Paradiso, 20-24 March 1991*, 2 vols, Modena: F. C. Panini, 1996, 2:519-532, esp. 523, 526; Aurélien Girard, “L’enseignement de l’arabe à Rome au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in: B. Grévin, ed., *Maghreb-Italie. Des passeurs médiévaux à l’orientalisme moderne (XIII<sup>e</sup>-milieu XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Rome: École française de Rome, 2010: 209-234, esp. 216-217, 230, 232.

<sup>58</sup> See Bertolotti, “Le tipografie orientali,” 225; Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 100, 107-108, n. 71; Fani, “Gli esiti della Tipografia,” 74-75; Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, translated by L. G. Cochrane, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 114. Elsewhere, the press run for the bilingual version is indicated as being 3,000 or 4,000 copies. See Jacques Lelong, *Bibliotheca sacra seu syllabus omnium ferme sacrae*

the printed copies were in store almost two hundred years later suggests that a substantial number of copies had been sold on the market or sent to the missions in the Middle East.<sup>59</sup>

In his recent study, Ronny Vollandt describes missionary needs as a major reason for the Arabic Bible printing in Europe.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, this was not the case for Persian translation of the Scriptures. In contrast with Arabic versions, the Vatican saw no need to print translations of the Gospels or other biblical books into Persian. When Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21) ordered that linguistic training be provided for missionaries in the convents of the religious orders in Rome, Persian was not among the recommended languages which were Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. In the apostolic constitution *De Magistris linguarum hebraicae, graecae, latinae et arabicae, a Regularibus in suis studiis habendis* (“On the Teachers of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic in the Studies of the Regulars”) – also known as *Apostolicae servitutis onere* –, dated 31 July 1610, it is stated as follows:

It is sufficiently certain that the knowledge of languages, especially Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, is of most advantage for this purpose. [The knowledge of the last-mentioned one] is regarded as most useful for the conversion of infidels, because a large part of them either speak or understand Arabic. [...] By this our permanent and valid constitution, we decree and

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*scripturae editionum ac versionum secundum seriem linguarum quibus vulgatae sunt notis historicis et criticis illustratus adjunctis praestantissimis*, Antverpiae: J. L. Gleditschii et M. G. Weidmanni, 1709, 247-248; idem, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes*, Paris: A. Pralard, 1713, 77; Borbone, “Introduzione,” 26, 38-39, n. 52.

<sup>59</sup> See Angelo M. Bandini, *Dei principii e progressi della Real Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana (Ms. laur. Acquisti e Doni 142)*, ed. R. Pintaudi, M. Tesi, and A. R. Fantoni, Firenze: Gonnelli, 1990, 83; Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 107-108, n. 71; Fani, “Gli esiti della Tipografia,” 74-75.

Considering the effect of the printing, as discussed below, general statements such as that Arabic books published by the Medici Oriental Press “were largely unsuccessful” in the Middle East (see Jan Luiten van Zanden, “Explaining the Global Distribution of Book Production before 1800,” in: M. Prak and J. L. van Zanden, eds, *Technology, Skills, and the Pre-Modern Economy in the East and the West: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of S. R. Epstein*, Leiden: Brill, 2013: 323-340, here 327) cannot be justified.

<sup>60</sup> See his *Arabic Versions*, 14, 111. See also Bernard Heyberger, “L’Orient et l’Islam dans l’érudition européenne du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Dix-septième siècle* 268 (2015): 495-508, esp. 502-504.

command the study of all three languages of this kind, namely Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in whatever order and regular institute, both of mendicants and non-mendicants, including exempt ones whatsoever and immediate subjects to the Apostolic See. Moreover, [we decree and command] that teachers of Arabic [...] should be introduced in the larger and more frequented ones [...].<sup>61</sup>

As late as 1625, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), founded three years earlier by Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-23) for the supervision of the missionary activity of the Roman Church, recommended the use of Arabic translations of the New Testament to missionaries in Persia.<sup>62</sup> In his speech to the cardinals of

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<sup>61</sup> “Cui rei plurimum conducere satis constat linguarum cognitionem, hebraicae praesertim, graecae, latinae et arabicae: haec enim conversioni infidelium opportunissima esse dignoscitur, quando magna eorum pars aut arabice loquitur, aut intelligit: [...] hac nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione sancimus, statuimus et ordinamus, ut in cuiuscumque Ordinis et instituti regularium, tam Mendicantium quam non Mendicantium, etiam quomodolibet exemptorum et Apostolicae Sedi immediate subiectorum, studiis omnibus trium linguarum huiusmodi, hebraicae videlicet, graecae et latinae, in maioribus vero, ac celebrioribus, etiam arabicae doctores [...] habeantur [...]” (*Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum. Taurinensis editio*, 25 vols, Augustae Taurinorum: Vecco et Sociis, 1857-72, 12:625-627, no. 155, here 626, §§ 1, 2).

The claim that Persian (and Syriac) was also mentioned in the apostolic constitution (see Piemontese, “G.B. Vecchietti,” 490; Rudi Matthee, “Iran’s Relations with Europe in the Safavid Period: Diplomats, Missionaries, Merchants and Travel,” in: A. Langer, *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art & Contemporary Art of Teheran [sic!]*, Zürich: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2013: 6-39, here 18), is therefore unjustified.

For the linguistic training in Arabic and other vernaculars in the convents of Rome, see Kleinhans, *Historia studii*, 10-17, 21-22. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Clerics Regular Minor, also known as Caracciolini, at Sant’Agnese in Agone, later San Lorenzo in Lucina, first introduced Persian into the curriculum. This, however, seems rather an exception than the rule. See Giovanni Pizzorusso, “La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l’Oriente islamico: scuole, testi, insegnanti a Roma e in Italia,” in: B. Heyberger et al., eds, *L’Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all’Islam*, Genova: Marietti, 2009: 253-288, esp. 257-258; idem, “Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu orientaliste autour de la congrégation *De Propaganda Fide* au temps d’Abraham Ecchellensis,” in: B. Heyberger, ed., *Orientalisme, science et controverses: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 59-80, esp. 61.

<sup>62</sup> For the ‘linguistic policy’ of *Propaganda Fide*, see Zacarias Remiro Andollu, “La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islám: Apostolado de la Prensa en lengua árabe,” in: [J. Metzler, ed.,] *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, 3 vols in 5 pts, Rom: Herder, 1971-75,

the Congregation, the influential first secretary of the *Propaganda Fide*, Francesco Ingoli (in office 1622-49), stated that “it would be necessary to send the New Testament in Arabic to Persia or, at least, some copies of the Gospels printed by the Grand Duke [Ferdinando I of Tuscany] and, if one could send the entire Bible, one could not make a better provision for the propagation of the Catholic faith in all the parts occupied by Muslims.”<sup>63</sup> Persian was not seen as relevant as Arabic for missionary activity and, thus, had no priority for the Congregation. Instead, as seen above, Ingoli explicitly recommends the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic, “printed by the Grand Duke [Ferdinando I of Tuscany],” as an instrument of the mission to Persia.

When the linguist and director of the Medici Oriental Press, Giovanni Battista Raimondi (ca. 1536-1614), suggested the foundation of a printing press for Middle Eastern languages to Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici (1549-1609), the later Grand Duke Ferdinando

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I/1:707-731; Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Tra cultura e missione: la Congregazione *De Propaganda Fide* e le scuole di lingua araba nel XVII secolo,” in: A. Romano, ed., *Rome et la science moderne: entre Renaissance et Lumières*, [Rome]: École française de Rome, 2008: 121-152, esp. 122-126; idem, “Les écoles de langue arabe”; idem, “La Congrégation *De Propaganda Fide* à Rome: centre d’accumulation et de production de ‘savoirs missionnaires’ (XVII<sup>e</sup>-début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle),” in: Ch. de Castelneau-L’Estoile, M.-L. Copete et al., eds, *Missions d’évangélisation et circulation des savoirs XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011: 25-40, esp. 36-38.

<sup>63</sup> “Sarebbe necessario mandare in Persia il Testamento nuouo arabico o almeno alcuni corpi delli Euangelii stampati dal Granduca e, se si potesse mandare tutta la Biblia, non si potrebbe far miglior prouisione per la propagatione della fede catholica in tutte le parti occupate da’ Maomettani” (Vatican, APF, MS SOCG, 209, fol. 55r:8-11).

Ingoli dictated his *Discorsi* to an unidentified scribe of the Congregation (I am indebted to Carlo Longo for his help in deciphering the script). See also Josef Metzler, “Nicht erfüllte Hoffnungen in Persien,” in: [idem, ed.,] *Sacrae Congregationis*, I/1:680-706, esp. 683. On Ingoli, see Josef Metzler, “Francesco Ingoli, primo Segretario della Congregazione (1578-1649),” in: Francesco Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, ed. F. Tosi, Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 1999: 291-332.

I of Tuscany, his initiative fell on fertile soil.<sup>64</sup> In 1584, Ferdinando de' Medici was ready to finance the venture and established in Rome what became known as the *Typographia Medicea Orientale* (Ital. *Stamperia Orientale Medicea*), operating between 1584 and 1614. Besides the financial profit from book sales, the cardinal aimed at the promotion of science and, in particular, the propagation of the Catholic faith.<sup>65</sup> Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85) supported its foundation, hoping for a union of Arabic-speaking and/or Arabic-writing Churches with the bishop of Rome, as well as the re-Christianization of Muslim lands.<sup>66</sup>

Therefore, the pope ordered primarily the publication of the Bible in Arabic, followed by secular works in the humanities that were intended to introduce Muslims to Christianity.<sup>67</sup> These aims coincided with Raimondi's intention to publish the first polyglot Bible that includes Arabic. However, the death of Gregory XIII, the lesser interest of his successor Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-90), and the appointment of Ferdinando de' Medici as Grand Duke of

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<sup>64</sup> On Raimondi, see Margherita Farina, "La nascita della Tipografia Medicea: personaggi e idee," in: Fani and Farina, *Le vie delle lettere*: 43-72, esp. 54-57; Mario Cesari, "Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late Renaissance Italy: A Memorandum by Giovan Battista Raimondi," in: M. Israëls and L. A. Waldman, eds, *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, 2 vols, Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2013, 2:545-557.

<sup>65</sup> For Ferdinando de' Medici's founding of the printing press, dated March 1584, see Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, "La Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Una nuova sala per l'attrezzatura della Stamperia Orientale (sec. XVI)," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 39 (n. s. 22) (1971): 83-99, esp. 88-89; Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press," 97, 106, n. 53; Farina, "La nascita della Tipografia," 43.

<sup>66</sup> On the printing project and its missionary bias, see Raimondi's statement on Gregory XIII, written in ca. 1610, published in Saltini, "Della Stamperia Orientale Medicea," 259-260. See also Piemontese, "Grammatica e lessicografia"; Giorgio Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa in caratteri arabi*, Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2001, 20-21.

On Gregory XIII, see Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973, 51-55, 64-69; Alastair Hamilton, "Eastern Churches and Western Scholarship," in: A. Grafton, *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1993: 225-249, esp. 244-249; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 111-114.

<sup>67</sup> See Raimondi's statement published in Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press," 97, 106, n. 54; Borbone, "Introduzione," 21-22.

Tuscany in 1587 put an end to the ambitious printing project.<sup>68</sup> As a result, besides works in the fields of Arabic grammar, science, and Eastern Christianity, the four Gospels remained the only biblical books printed by the Medici Oriental Press.<sup>69</sup>

The various *Vorlagen* used for the editions of the Arabic works were of a different provenance.<sup>70</sup> Some of the consulted manuscripts were part of the private library of the former Syriac Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Na<sup>c</sup>matallāh (“Nehemes,” r. 1557-76, d. 1587).<sup>71</sup> Following his forced resignation as patriarch in 1576, Na<sup>c</sup>matallāh brought along his manuscript collection when fleeing to Rome. In addition, he became an important consultant to the printing press for identifying Arabic texts and making them accessible.<sup>72</sup> A large part of his collection was later bequeathed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but remained at the disposal of Raimondi.

Other manuscripts were specifically purchased for the Medici Oriental Press by intermediaries travelling to the Middle East. In 1584, Giovanni Battista Vecchietti and Giovanni Battista Britti (b. 1558, d. after 1586) left for Alexandria, from where they went on

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<sup>68</sup> See Guglielmo E. Saltini, “La Bibbia poliglotta medicea secondo il disegno e gli apparecchi di Gio. Battista Raimondi,” *Bollettino italiano degli studi orientali* n. s. (1877-82): 490-495; Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, 78-79, 111-117; Farina, “La nascita della Tipografia,” 45. See also Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 260-261. On Sixtus V, see Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque vaticane*, 70-75, 83-89.

<sup>69</sup> For a list of the printings by the Medici Oriental Press, see Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 88-89.

<sup>70</sup> For Raimondi’s inventory, see Florence, BNCV, MS Magl. Cl.III.102, fols 2r-18v (blank: 2v; 6; 7; 10v). The provenance of the manuscripts is partly indicated in the description.

<sup>71</sup> On him, see Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948, 1-113, esp. 39-44; GCAL, 4:12-13; Farina, “La nascita della Tipografia,” 57-60; Pier G. Borbone and Margherita Farina, “New Documents concerning Patriarch Ignatius Na<sup>c</sup>matallah (Mardin, ca. 1515 - Bracciano, near Rome, 1587): 1. Elias, the ‘Nestorian’ Bishop,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 37 (2014): 179-189.

<sup>72</sup> See Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno*, 39-40; Farina, “La nascita della Tipografia,” 59-60.

to various parts of Egypt, Ethiopia, the Levant, and Persia to search for appropriate sources.<sup>73</sup>

In 1590, G. B. Vecchietti and his brother Girolamo (1557-1636) travelled to Egypt, followed by other missions to the East.

The manuscripts acquired during these journeys formed the basis of the precious manuscript collection of the Medici Oriental Press. They are scattered today among libraries in Europe, in particular the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, both in Florence, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. However, as we will see below, the manuscripts used as textual sources by the printing press are not limited to the holdings of these libraries, but re-emerge in other collections as well.

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<sup>73</sup> On the Vecchietti brothers and Britti, see GCAL, 4:120-121; Richard, “Les frères Vecchietti”; Michele Bernardini, “Giovan Battista and Gerolamo Vecchietti in Hormuz,” in: R. Matthee and J. Flores, eds, *Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia*, Leuven: Peeters, 2011: 265-281; Farina, “La nascita della Tipografia,” 60-65. The travelers were given detailed instructions by the director of the printing press before departing. See *ibid.*, 48-50; Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, 253-254.



## 1.2 The *Vorlage* for the Medici Edition of the Arabic Vulgate

Since the nineteenth century it has been accepted among scholars that the version of the Gospels included in the printed edition of the Medici Oriental Press was the Arabic Vulgate.<sup>74</sup> The sources of this version originate in the Coptic and Syriac communities during the Middle Islamic period, in an eclectic recension that appears to have been “originally translated either from Syriac and Greek with some of its witnesses [i.e. manuscript copies] later corrected against the Coptic version, or from Syriac and then corrected on some occasions against the Greek and on other occasions against the Coptic.”<sup>75</sup> The exact provenance of this eclectic translation, however, is still under discussion.

The number of extant manuscripts of this translation exceeds more than a hundred and fifty copies, dated between the twelfth and the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> The manuscript evidence suggests that this version was widely used by Arab Christian communities by the late thirteenth century, superseding other Arabic translations of the Gospels.<sup>77</sup> The more general availability of the Arabic Vulgate is confirmed by Muslim authors from the Middle Islamic

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<sup>74</sup> On the Arabic Vulgate as *Vorlage* for the Medici edition of the Gospels, see Ignazio Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*, Roma: Accademia dei Lincei, 1888, 23; Henri Hyvernat, “Arabes (versions) des Écritures,” in: F. Vigouroux, ed., *Dictionnaire de la Bible contenant tous les noms de personnes, de lieux, de plantes, d’animaux mentionnés dans les Saintes Écritures (...)*, 5 vols, Paris: Letouzey and Ané, 1895-1912, 1:845-856, esp. 854; F. Crawford Burkitt, “Arabic Versions,” in: J. Hastings, ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible: Dealing with Its Language, Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology*, 5 vols, New York: Scribner, 1898-1904, 1:136-138, esp. 137.

<sup>75</sup> Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*, 205.

<sup>76</sup> For the most comprehensive, though still incomplete, reference works listing numerous manuscripts of the Arabic Vulgate, see GCAL, 1:160-162 (partly obsolete); Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*, 208-213, 250-252, 259-260.

<sup>77</sup> See Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*, 206.

period who relied on this version for their citations from the Gospels.<sup>78</sup> Probably due to its wide acceptance by Middle Eastern Christians, the Arabic Vulgate was selected by Raimondi as the basis for the *editio princeps* of the Gospels in Arabic.

For more than four centuries, the identity of the Arabic *Vorlage* for the printing remained unknown.<sup>79</sup> None of the monolingual and bilingual versions of the edition includes a preface that could elucidate the provenance of the Arabic text.<sup>80</sup> In 1955, the biblical scholar John A. Thompson maintained that “the Arabic edition of the gospels [sic!] printed by Giovanni Battista Raimondi in Rome, 1590-1591, [...] was based on Vat. copt. 9.”<sup>81</sup> The illuminated Coptic-Arabic codex Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 9, 504 fols, dated 921 AMart

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<sup>78</sup> Among the Muslim scholars are the anonymous author of *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl* and the Ḥanbalī scholar Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316). The work *al-Radd al-jamīl* has traditionally been attributed to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), but presumably dates from a later period. See Ines Peta, “*Al-Radd al-jamīl*. L’épineuse question de la paternité ghazālienne: une nouvelle hypothèse,” *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales* 30 (2014): 129-138. On al-Ṭūfī, see Lejla Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis of the Bible in Medieval Cairo: Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī’s (d. 716/1316) Commentary on the Christian Scriptures. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation with an Introduction*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 65-70.

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g. Lelong, *Bibliotheca sacra*, 248; Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halae ad Salam: I. C. Hendelii, 1811 (repr., Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), 350; Johann Gildemeister, *De Evangeliiis in arabicum e simplici syriaca translatis commentatio academica*, Bonnae ad Rhenum: A. Marcus, 1865, 42, n. 1; Korolevskij, *La typographie*, 26; Metzger, *The Early Versions*, 265.

<sup>80</sup> In the Arabic-Latin version of the Gospels, however, the editors apparently intended to include a preface. The fact that the first eight pages remained blank suggests that it was not published.

<sup>81</sup> John A. Thompson, “The Origin and Nature of the Chief Printed Arabic Bibles,” in: *The Bible Translator* 6 (1955): 2-12 (I), 51-55 (II), 98-106 (III), 146-150 (IV), here 10. It remains unclear to me on which sources Thompson’s assumption is based. Since he previously mentioned in his article Thomas H. Darlow and Horace F. Moule’s *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols in 4 pts, London: Bible House, 1903-11 (repr., New York: Kraus, 1963), he might have misinterpreted the following statement by F. Crawford Burkitt included in the catalogue: “The early printed editions of the Arabic Gospels are all forms of the ‘Alexandrian Vulgate.’ This name is given to a revision made towards the end of the thirteenth century, which, however, is little more than the text of Vat. Copt. 9 [...]” (Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, II/1:63, no. 1636). For Burkitt’s original statement, see his entry, “Arabic Versions,” in: *Dictionary of the Bible*, 137. It seems to be based on Guidi’s assumptions, as published in his *Le traduzioni degli Evangelii*, 17, 23.

(=1204-05), comprises in two columns the Bohairic version of the four Gospels and the Arabic Vulgate.<sup>82</sup> However, a note in the first folio of the manuscript indicates that it was brought by G. Vecchietti from Egypt to Rome in 1594, which is three years after the publication of the Gospels.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, Thompson's assumption can still be found as an acceptable one in studies today.<sup>84</sup>

When, in 2012/13, the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana hosted an exhibition devoted to the manuscript collection of the Medici Oriental Press, the Italian scholar Pier G. Borbone conjectured that the manuscript used as a model for the printing was not extant. In the miscellany of studies that accompanied the exhibition, he stated "although several preparatory copies of the Arabic text of the Gospels written in Raimondi's hand are preserved among the manuscripts of the Laurenziana, [...] the original copy that the

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<sup>82</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Adolphe Hebbelynck and Arnold van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici vaticani, barberiniani, borgiai, rossiani*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937, 23-34; GCAL, 1:155; Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés*, Paris: Geuthner, 1974, 148-153, no. 18; Delio Vania Proverbio, "66. Tetravangelo. Copto," in: D'Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, 283-286 (with a facsim. of the opening section of the Gospel of Mark); Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*, 67, 208, 253-254; Piemontese, "La raccolta vaticana di *Orientalia*," 441-444 (with a facsim. of the opening section of the Gospel of Mark).

<sup>83</sup> "Portato da Egitto da me, Girolamo Vecchietti, l'anno 1594" (Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 9, fol. 1). See also Richard, "Les frères Vecchietti," 18. Following G. Vecchietti's return to Rome, MS Copt. 9 was acquired by Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini (Passeri), before it came into Raimondi's possession. For details, see Delio Vania Proverbio, "Per la storia del manoscritto copt. 9 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," *Rara volumina* 7 (2000): 19-39, esp. 29-30.

<sup>84</sup> See Otto F. A. Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, Cairo: American University Press, 1999, 42; Oddbjørn Leirvik, *Human Conscience and Muslim-Christian Relations: Modern Egyptian Thinkers on al-ḍamīr*, London: Routledge, 2006, 74; idem, "Conscience in Arabic and the Semantic History of ḍamīr," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 9 (2009): 18-36, esp. 28-29.

typesetter used is not yet identified. It is possible that this copy, as it often happened, was likewise destroyed in the process of printing.”<sup>85</sup> This assumption is not justified either.

As early as 1889, the original manuscript that Raimondi wished to print was identified by the Spanish Arabist Francisco Guillén Robles (1846-1926) with the bilingual Arabic-Latin codex Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, 441 fols.<sup>86</sup> The undated draft copy of the print is penned entirely in Raimondi’s hand and is frequently signed by him.<sup>87</sup> Thirty-two sample pages of the printed text in the Medici edition, namely the first sixteen pages of each version of the edition, were added to the codex and appear in the appendix. In his catalogue on the Arabic manuscript collection held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Guillén Robles remarked as follows:

This manuscript [Res. 208] is the original one, which was used for the edition of the work entitled *Arba‘at Anājīl Yasū‘ al-Masīh sayyidnā al-muqaddasa: Sacrosanta quator [sic!] Jesu*

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<sup>85</sup> “Benché fra i manoscritti della Laurenziana si conservino diverse copie preparatorie del testo arabo dei Vangeli di mano di Raimondi, [...] non è ancora stato individuato l’originale servito al compositore ed è possibile, come spesso accadeva, che sia stato distrutto durante le operazioni tipografiche” (Borbone et al., “Catalogo,” 209).

<sup>86</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Francisco Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid: M. Tello, 1889, 251, no. 606; Martín de la Torre and Pedro Longás, *Catálogo de códices latinos*, vol. 1: Bíblicos, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1935, 1:153, no. 37; John Robert Jones, “Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624),” Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1988, 87, 247, n. 244. On Guillén Robles, see María Paz Torres, “Francisco Guillén Robles. Un arabista malagueño del XIX,” *Jábega* 71 (1991): 79-90.

<sup>87</sup> For Raimondi’s Arabic and Latin (as well as Coptic) handwriting, compare the facsim. in Borbone et al., “Catalogo,” 94-95, with Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 336v (both texts comprehend the opening section of the Gospel of John in slightly different versions). For other examples of Raimondi’s hand, see the facsim. in Raymonde Cassinet, “L’aventure de l’édition des *Eléments d’Euclide* en arabe par la Société Typographique Médicis vers 1594,” *Revue française d’histoire du livre* 62 (1993): 5-51, here 42 (an earlier version of the article was published in *Cahiers d’histoire des mathématiques de Toulouse*, no. 9, 1986: 81-138); Borbone et al., “Catalogo,” 90-91, 98-99, 170-171, 176-177. For his signature, see below, Chapter 1.3.

*Christi. D. N. Evangelia arabice scripta, latine reddita figurisque ornata.* Roma, Tipogr. Medicea, 1591.<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, until today, Guillén Robles's findings have remained unnoticed by students of the history of Arabic printing in Europe. When, in the 1980s, John Robert Jones examined MS Res. 208 for his doctoral dissertation, he arrived at the erroneous conclusion that the codex is "a rather charred and damp-stained manuscript exemplar of the printed edition."<sup>89</sup> In fact, MS Res. 208 was not copied from the printed text of the Medici edition, but served as a manuscript model for the printing of both versions of the edition, which, as we will see below, was approved by Vatican authorities before publication.

In contrast to previous assumptions, Raimondi's original *Vorlage*, from which he incorporated the text of the Gospels in Arabic into MS Res. 208, is also still extant. It can be identified with a fourteenth-century codex of Coptic provenance, namely Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84 [Bibl. Vittorio Emm. Ar. 1], 246 fols, completed in Bashans 1059 AMart (=April-May 1343).<sup>90</sup> The folios are numbered in Coptic cursive numbers. In addition, almost every tenth folio is numbered in Syriac Estrangelā script. MS Or. 84 was copied by an anonymous monk in Wādī al-Naṭrūn (ancient Scetis) in the Monastery of St. John the Little (*Dayr al-qiddīs*

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<sup>88</sup> "Este ms. es el original que sirvió para la edición de la obra titulada: اربعة انجيل يسوع المسيح سيدنا المقدسة *Sacrosanta quator [sic!] Jesu Christi. D. N. Evangelia arabice scripta, latine reddita figurisque ornata.* Roma, Tipogr. Medicea, 1591" (Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes*, 251, no. 606).

<sup>89</sup> Jones, "Learning Arabic," 87. Jones's research, however, was focused on a topic different from the history of the Medici edition and its textual *Vorlage*.

<sup>90</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ignazio Guidi, *Catalogo dei codici siriaci, arabi, turchi e persiani della Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele*, *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 1, Firenze: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1878, 5-7; GCAL, 1:160, 169; Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions*, 52, 209.

*Yuḥannis al-Qaṣīr*), which was no longer active by the fifteenth century.<sup>91</sup> As we see in Figure 2, the colophon of MS Or. 84, at the end of the Gospels of John, reads as follows:

The copy [of the Gospels] was completed in Bashans 1059 AMart in the Monastery of St. Father John, the *hegoumenos*, in the holy desert. God be praised forever. It was collated in the best way possible.<sup>92</sup>

MS Or. 84 comprises the following items in Arabic, given here in order of appearance: (1) An introduction to the Gospels (fols 1v-14r); (2) A register of the Eusebian section and canon numbers (fols 14v-17r); (3) A register of *tituli* of the Gospel of Matthew (fols 17v-28r); (4) The text of Matthew (fols 28v-77v); (5) A register of *tituli* of the Gospel of Mark (fols 78r-83v [blank: 84r]); (6) The text of Mark (fols 84v-114r); (7) A register of *tituli* of the Gospel of Luke (fols 114v-124v [blank: 125r]); (8) The text of Luke (fols 125v-179r); (9) A register of *tituli* of the Gospel of John (fols 179v-184v [blank: 185r]); (10) The text of John (fols 185v-228r [blank: 228v]); (11) A liturgical calendar structured according to the Coptic months (fols

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<sup>91</sup> See Fayek Ishaq, “Dayr Yuḥannis al-Qaṣīr,” in: A. S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols, New York: Macmillan, 1991, 3:883-884. The monastery is also known as “the Monastery of St. Father John the *hegoumenos*, the priest, the Little” (*Dayr al-qiddīs Abū Yuḥannis al-aghmūnis [sic!] al-rāhib al-Qaṣīr*). See Abū l-Makārim, *Ta’rīkh al-kanā’īs wa-l-adyura fī-l-qarn al-thānī ‘ashar al-mīlādī, li-Abī l-Makārim, alladhī nusiba khata’an ilā Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, i’ḍād wa-ta’līq al-rāhib Ṣamū’īl al-Suryānī*, 2 vols, [Cairo: s.n.,] 1984, 1:127. For a discussion of the textual history of the work, see Johannes den Heijer, “Coptic Historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods,” *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996), 67-98, esp. 77-81.

On the current excavations at the site of the Monastery of St. John the Little, see Stephen J. Davis et al., “Life and Death in Lower and Upper Egypt: A Brief Survey of Recent Monastic Archaeology at Yale,” *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 3-4 (2012): 9-26.

<sup>92</sup> In Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fol. 228r:14-17, the original Arabic reads as follows:

وكان الفراغ من نسخها في شهر بشنس سنة الفوتسعة وخمسين للشهدا الأبرار بدير القديس بو يحنس للأغومنس [كذا] بالبريه المقدسه والسبح لله دائماً ابداً قوبل حسب الطاقه.

229r-233v [blank: 234r]); (12) A register of the daily reading portions in the Coptic Church (fols 234v-246r).<sup>93</sup>

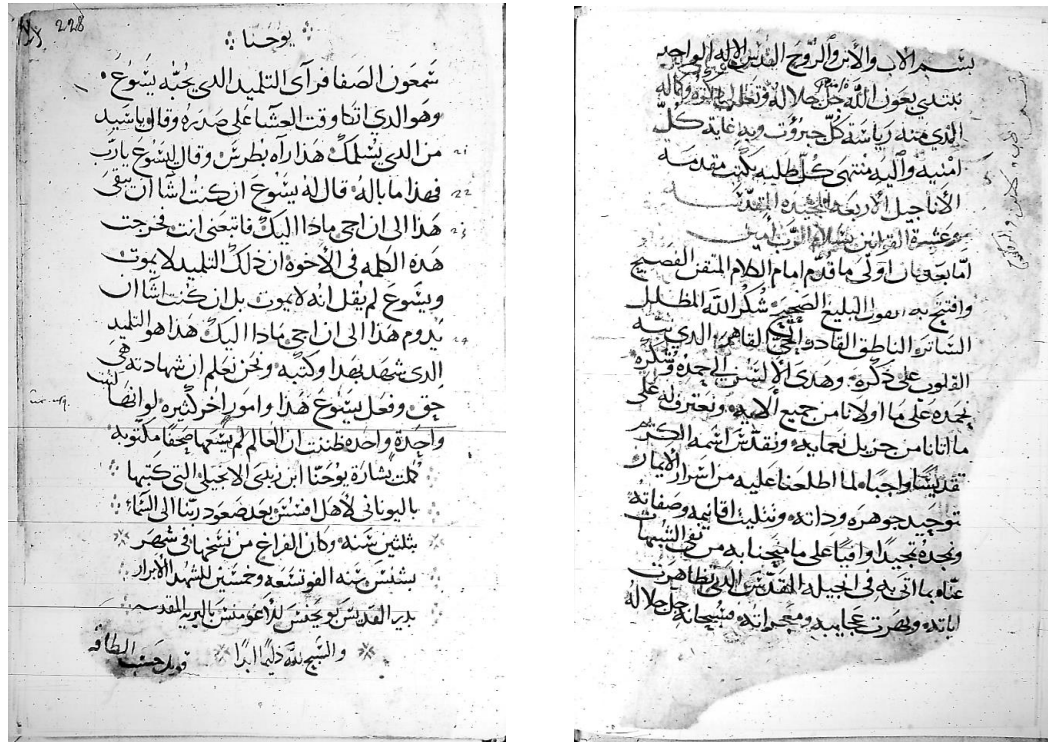


Figure 2. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, MS Or. 84, fols 1v and 228r, The opening of the Gospel of Matthew and the end of the Gospel of John (including the colophon), © Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma.

The Gospels are structured according to the Coptic chapters, also known as the Coptic ‘smaller chapters’ – in contrast with the Greek ‘larger chapters’ –, with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>94</sup> In some

<sup>93</sup> For a partial transcript of the introduction, see Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli Evangelii*, 25. The Eusebian section and canon numbers (10 sections, with 355 canons for Matthew, 236 canons for Mark, 342 canons for Luke, and 232 canons for John), the numbers that appear in the registers of *tituli* of the Gospels, and the dates adduced in the liturgical calendar are indicated in Coptic cursive numbers. On the history of the Eusebian section and canon numbers, see *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. B. and K. Aland et al. (Nestle-Aland), 28<sup>th</sup> rev. ed., 2<sup>nd</sup> corrected printing, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013, 42-43\*, 47\*-52\*. On the Coptic calendar of saints, see Wolfgang Kosack, *Der koptische Heiligenkalender. Deutsch-Koptisch-Arabisch, nach besten Quellen neu bearbeitet und vollständig herausgegeben*, Berlin: Ch. Brunner, 2014.

<sup>94</sup> In his description of Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, Guidi has erroneously indicated the chapter divisions with 51 for Mark and 54 for John. See his *Catalogo dei codici siriaci*, 6. For a comparison between the Coptic chapter

copies of the Arabic Vulgate, these chapter divisions are explicitly denoted “Coptic” (Arab. *qibṭī*).<sup>95</sup> The same text divisions appear in some manuscripts of the Coptic Bohairic version of the Gospels.<sup>96</sup> The Coptic chapter divisions, however, have not been standardized either in the Bohairic version or in the Arabic translations made from the Coptic. Nevertheless, the already mentioned Coptic ‘smaller chapters’ enable us to identify, as we will see in the following chapters, the Arabic Vulgate as a source used by Shī‘ī scholars in Islamicate societies (as well as travelers from Europe) to study and translate the Gospels.<sup>97</sup>

The circumstances under which MS Or. 84 was imported into Europe remain unclear. The copy is not described in Raimondi’s inventory of manuscripts of the Medici Oriental Press, as extant in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, there is no

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divisions (Arab. *faṣl*) and the text divisions of the Vulgata (Arab. *aṣḥāḥ*), see D. Halft, “Schiiitische Polemik gegen das Christentum im safawidischen Iran des 11./17. Jahrhunderts. Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī *Lawāmi‘-i rabbānī dar radd-i ṣubḥa-yi naṣrānī*,” in: C. Adang and S. Schmidtke, eds, *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010: 273-334, here 297.

<sup>95</sup> See Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fol. 13v:2-5; Paul de Lagarde, ed., *Die vier Evangelien, arabisch. Aus der Wiener Handschrift*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1864, iv-vi; Samir Khalil Samir, “La version arabe des évangiles d’al-As‘ad ibn al-‘Assāl,” *Parole de l’Orient* 19 (1994): 441-551, here 537.

<sup>96</sup> See George W. Horner, ed., *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic, with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Literal English Translation*, 4 vols, Oxford: Clarendon, 1898-1905, 1:xiii-xiv; Adolphe Hebbelynck, “Les κεφάλαια et les τίτλοι des évangiles,” *Le Muséon* 41 (1928): 81-120, esp. 82-83.

In the Bohairic version, the text divisions vary considerably depending on the manuscript concerned, ranging between 83-86, 92-94 or 101 chapters for Matthew, 52, 54, 56 or 61-62 chapters for Mark, 83-84, 86, 92, 94 or 97 chapters for Luke, and 45-46, 48 or 50-52 chapters for John. See Horner, *The Coptic Version*, vols 1 and 2; Bentley Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906*, London: British Library, 1987, 268-273, 306-312. For a table of concordance between different chapter divisions, see Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kubr, *Livre de la lampe des ténèbres et de l’exposition (lumineuse) du service (de l’église)*, ed. and translated by D. L. Villecourt, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1928, 606-613.

<sup>97</sup> For the European travelers, see below, Chapter 2.1. For the Muslim scholars, see below, Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

<sup>98</sup> See Florence, BNCF, MS Magl. Cl.III.102, fols 2r-18v (blank: 2v; 6; 7; 10v).



evidence from MS Or. 84 itself when and how it reached Rome.<sup>99</sup> For these reasons, the manuscript has escaped scholarly attention until today. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that Raimondi accessed MS Or. 84 and copied the text of the four Gospels, including the arrangement in Coptic ‘smaller chapters’, the colophon of the copy, and other paratextual features into MS Res. 208.<sup>100</sup> The colophon of MS Or. 84 has been faithfully reproduced; only the collation note “It was collated in the best way possible” (Arab. *qūbila ḥasab al-ṭāqa*) was omitted by Raimondi.<sup>101</sup> Before the text of the Gospels was typeset, it was, as we will see below, revised and collated against the Vulgata, producing what I call the Roman Arabic Vulgate.

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<sup>99</sup> In Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, we read several undated marginal notes in Latin by an unidentified European hand (certainly not Raimondi’s). The notes indicate that the manuscript has been collated against the text of the Vulgata. On the very last page, Guidi reads a note with the name “Sergio figlio di Giuseppe” (the note is illegible in the microfilm of the manuscript that was available to me). See his *Catalogo dei codici siriaci*, 5.

<sup>100</sup> For the paratextual features that are identical between both manuscripts, compare the *inscriptions* and *subscriptions* of the Gospels, as they appear in Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fols 77v:6-10; 84v:1-3; 114r:12-15; 125v:1-3; 179r:14-17; 185v:1-3; 228r:12-14, with Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 127r:1-5 (Arab. lines); 127v:1-3 (Arab. lines); 206r:1-4 (Arab. lines); 206v:1-4 (Arab. lines); 336r:1-4 (Arab. lines); 336v:1-3 (Arab. lines); 440v:5-8. For the *subscriptions* of Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, see Guidi, *Catalogo dei codici siriaci*, 6.

<sup>101</sup> In Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 440v:8-441r:4, the colophon reads as follows:

وكان الفراغ من نسخها في شهر بشنس سنة الفوتسعه وخمسين للشهدا لأبرار [كذا] بدير القديس بو يحنس للأغومنس [كذا]  
بالبريه المقدسه والسبح لله دائماً ابداً.

### 1.3 Vatican Censorship and the Production of the Roman Arabic Vulgate

Following the incorporation of the text of the Gospels in the Arabic language from Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84 into Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, the manuscript model for the printing was the object of a revision, as suggested by the corrections that appear in the margins of MS Res. 208 (and are retained in the printed text).<sup>102</sup> In the margins, we also read variant readings of single biblical terms in Greek, Syriac, and Latin (which were not included in the printed text).<sup>103</sup> In MS Res. 208, Raimondi left sufficient space between the lines for an interlinear translation from the Arabic into Latin. The literal translation was made by a board of scholars set up and headed by Raimondi. In contrast to Raimondi, the other five members of the board were friars, priests and/or converts from Judaism or Islam to Catholicism, all of whom were well-known in late sixteenth-century Rome for their linguistic skills.

Besides Raimondi, the board consisted of Leonardo Abel (d. 1605), a Maltese priest and titular Bishop of Sidon (r. 1582-1605),<sup>104</sup> the Dominican Arabist Tommaso da

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<sup>102</sup> See, e.g. Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 87r; 92v; 113v; 131r; 155v; 156r; 158v; 173v; 197r; 198v; 199v; 203v; 204v; 206v; 259v; 284r; 309r; 348v; 354r; 356v; 361v; 393v.

<sup>103</sup> In Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 355r, the Greek term *προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα* (the “Piscina Probatica”) transcribed in Arabic characters *الابروباتيكي قوليمبثرا*, which appears in John at the beginning of the Coptic chapter 10 (=John 5:2), was re-transcribed by Raimondi into Greek script. In addition, in MS Res. 208, fol. 363r, we read three variant readings of the blessing formula *بارك عليه الرب* in John at the end of the Coptic chapter 14 (=John 6:23): *gratias agentes Deo [sic!]* (Vulgata), *ق̄ حيد معوه* (Peshitta), and *εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου* (Greek New Testament).

<sup>104</sup> Leonardo Abel (Leonardus, episcopus Sidonensis) lived in Rome from the late 1570s onwards. In 1583, he was dispatched on a papal mission to the Churches in Syria, Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt to explore a union with the Roman Church. During his four-year-long journey, he obtained manuscripts in different languages and brought them to Rome. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 200-204, 217-256; idem, *Documenti intorno*, 33; GCAL, 3:24; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 74-77; Borbone, “Catalogo,” 164.

Terracina,<sup>105</sup> the Franciscan linguist Diego de Guadix,<sup>106</sup> the Jesuit and converted Jew Giovanni Battista Eliano (1530-89),<sup>107</sup> and Paulo Orsino (d. 1600), a Muslim convert from Constantinople.<sup>108</sup> Four of the translators, namely Abel, Da Terracina, De Guadix, and Orsino, also collaborated with Raimondi to produce the polyglot Bible (which has not been printed).<sup>109</sup> The draft copies of Raimondi's polyglot Bible still need to be researched and identified.

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<sup>105</sup> Little seems to be known about Tommaso da Terracina (Thomaso de Tarracina) who has previously been misidentified as "Tomás de Sarracina" (see Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes*, 251, no. 606; de la Torre and Longás, *Catálogo de códices latinos*, 1:153, no. 37; Jones, "Learning Arabic," 87). Da Terracina was involved in several translation and printing projects in Rome in the late sixteenth century. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 204, n. 3, 222, 230, n. 2; GCAL, 1:658; Fani, "Gli esiti della Tipografia," 74.

<sup>106</sup> Diego de Guadix (Didacus de Guadix) was an interpreter for the Inquisition tribunal in Granada in the late 1580s, before proceeding to Rome. There he composed a work on Arabic etymologies for Spanish words. See Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, translated by C. López-Morillas, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 360-364.

<sup>107</sup> Giovanni Battista Eliano (Johannes Baptista Romanus), a grandson and student of the Jewish scholar Elia Levita (1472-1549), was dispatched on several papal missions to Egypt, the Levant and Syria in 1561-63, 1578-79, and 1580-85. The purpose of his travels was to achieve a union of the local churches with Rome and to purchase Bible manuscripts. See GCAL, 4:210-213; Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, 59-73; Ronny Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno quì una Bibbia Arabica integra: A History of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* (1671-73)," in: S. Khalil Samir and J. P. Monferrer-Sala, eds, *Græco-Latina et Orientalia: Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*, Córdoba: CNERU, 2013: 401-418, esp. 404-410; Aurélien Girard, "Giovanni Battista Eliano," *CMR1900*, 7 (2015): 724-731.

<sup>108</sup> Little seems to be known about Paulo Orsino (Paulus Ursinus Constantinopolitanus) except that he worked as a translator for Ignatius Na<sup>5</sup>matallāh and the Medici Oriental Press from the late 1570s onwards. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 408, n. 4; idem, *Documenti intorno*, 12, 40, n. 3; Jones, "Learning Arabic," 85-87.

<sup>109</sup> See Raimondi's report to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522-97), as published in Maracchi Biagiarelli, "La Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana," 95; Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, 112; Farina, "La nascita della Tipografia," 45. The report also mentions Guiglielmo (Orsino) Africano (d. 1594), a converted Muslim from Tunisia and alumnus of the Neophyte College in Rome, who joined the translation board at a later stage for the preparations of the polyglot Bible. His signature is not yet to be found in the marginal notes in Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208. On him, see Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 220, 406-409, 418, 421, 425, 429, 434; Jones, "Learning Arabic," 87-88.

In MS Res. 208, in the interval of eight to twelve folios, we read forty-eight undated marginal notes in Latin, each of which is signed by at least four members of the above-mentioned translation board.<sup>110</sup> All of them bear the signatures of Raimondi and Orsino.<sup>111</sup> In these notes, the translators certify the conformity of the Latin interlinear translation to the Arabic text. They stated “we, the undersigned, have convened several times, and we have translated this Arabic text of the Gospel of Matthew [Marc, Luke or John] into Latin. And we avouch that it is accurately translated.”<sup>112</sup> A comparison between the literal translation and its *Vorlage* confirms that the Gospels in Arabic were faithfully translated by the members of the board into Latin.

In the late 1580s, MS Res. 208 was examined by the Sacred Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books (*Sacra Congregatio Indicis librorum prohibitorum*), founded in 1570. As a rule, authors and publishers in Rome were obliged to submit works which they wished to be printed for scrutiny and approval to the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>113</sup> In MS Res. 208, we read several undated marginal notes by representatives of the Congregation, including the signatures of the Master of the Sacred Palace (*Magister sacri palatii*) and, *ex-officio*,

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<sup>110</sup> See Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 31r; 39r; 49r; 59r; 69r; 79r; 89r; 99r; 111r; 132v; 142v; 152v; 162v; 172v; 182v; 192v; 202v; 212v; 222v; 232v; 242v; 250v; 258v; 266v; 274v; 282v; 290v; 298v; 306v; 314v; 322v; 330v; 338v; 346v; 354v; 362v; 370r; 378v; 386v; 394v; 402v; 410v; 418v; 426v; 434v; 440v (margins). Two marginal notes appear in the appendix on the sample pages of the printing, namely 9 (Arab.-Lat. version) and 2 (Arab. version). In the very last note, we read the names of all six translators.

<sup>111</sup> In contrast, only five notes are signed by Eliano, twenty-eight ones by Abel, and forty-five ones by Da Terracina and De Guadix. We may speculate, perhaps, that the frequency of signatures reflects the attendance of translation sessions by the members of the board. In that case, the bulk of the work seems to have been done by Raimondi, Orsino, Da Terracina, and De Guadix.

<sup>112</sup> “Nos infrascripti aliquoties congregati latinitati dedimus hunc textum Arabicum ex Euangelio Sancti Matthei et fidem facimus esse legitime translatum” (Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 99r).

<sup>113</sup> For details, see James Hankins, “The Popes and Humanism,” in: Grafton, *Rome Reborn*: 47-85, esp. 82-85; Hsia, *The World*, 173-178; Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, 60-61, 69-73.

permanent secretary of the Congregation, Tommaso Zobbia (d. 1589),<sup>114</sup> his assistant and later successor, Vincenzo Bonardo (d. 1601),<sup>115</sup> as well as Bonardo's assistant, Johannes Chrysostomus Grassus,<sup>116</sup> all of whom were Dominican friars.<sup>117</sup> In addition, the signatures of the Prefect of the Congregation, Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (ca. 1523-97),<sup>118</sup> and of another member of the Congregation, Cardinal Girolamo della Rovere (1530-92),<sup>119</sup> appear in MS Res. 208.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Tommaso Zobbia (Thomas Zobbius) was an official of the Holy Office. In 1583, he became Master of the Sacred Palace and remained in office until his death. See Jacques Quétif and Jacques Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati (...)*, 2 vols, Lutetiae Parisiorum: J-B-C. Ballard et N. Simart, 1719-21, 2:295; Innocenzo Taurisano, *Hierarchia ordinis praedicatorum*, Romae: Unio typogr. Manuzio, 1916, 54, no. 50, 71, no. 7.

<sup>115</sup> In 1589, Vincenzo Bonardo (Vincentius Bonardus or Bonardi) was appointed Master of the Sacred Palace by Pope Sixtus V. He also served as Bishop of Gerace (r. 1591-1601). See Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis praedicatorum*, 2:349; Taurisano, *Hierarchia ordinis praedicatorum*, 54, no. 51, 115, no. 2; Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque vaticane*, 82.

<sup>116</sup> On him, see Taurisano, *Hierarchia ordinis praedicatorum*, 54, n. 3.

<sup>117</sup> For the signatures of Bonardo, Grassus, and Zobbia, see the margins of Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 89r; 99r; 132v; 142v; 152v; 162v; 192v; 202v; 212v; 258v; 266v; 274v; 282v; 290v; 298v; 306v; 314v; 322v; 330v; 338v; 354v; 362v; 370r; 378v; 386v; 394v; 402v; 410v; 418v; 426v; 434v; 440v; and in the appendix on the sample pages of the printing, namely 9 (Arab.-Lat. version) and 2 (Arab. version).

<sup>118</sup> In 1591, Marcantonio Colonna (Marcus Antonius Cardinalis Columna, episcopus Praenestinus) became Prefect of the Commission for the Revision of the 1590 Sixtine Vulgate edition. He also served as cardinal librarian until his death. See Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque vaticane*, 75, 77, 89, n. 55; Christine M. Grafinger, "Marcantonio Colonna," in: J. Mejía, C. Grafinger, and B. Jatta, eds, *I cardinali bibliotecari di Santa Romana Chiesa. La quadreria nella Biblioteca apostolica vaticana*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006: 137-138, no. 7; Hans-Joachim Kracht, ed., *Lexikon der Kardinäle 1058-2010*, vol. 1-, Köln: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 2012-, 3/2:92-94; Maria A. Visceglia, "La Biblioteca tra Urbano VII (15-27 settembre 1590) e Urbano VIII (1623-1644): cardinali bibliotecari, custodi, scriptores," in: *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 3:77-121, esp. 79-82.

<sup>119</sup> Girolamo della Rovere (Hieronymus Cardinalis de Ruuere, tituli Sancti Petri ad Vincula) was Archbishop of Turin (r. 1564-92). In 1586, Pope Sixtus V created him cardinal and, two years later, assigned him to the Congregation of the Index. See Enrico Stumpo, "Della Rovere, Girolamo," in: *DBI*, 37 (1989): 350-353.

<sup>120</sup> For the signatures of Colonna and Della Rovere, see the margins of Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 31r; 39r; 49r; 59r; 69r; 79r; 111r; 172v; 182v; 222v; 232v; 242v; 250v; 346v; and in the appendix on the sample pages of the printing, namely 9 (Arab.-Lat. version) and 2 (Arab. version).



Figure 3. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Res. 208, fols 440v and 441r, The end of the Gospel of John (including the colophon recopied from the *Vorlage*), with the signatures of some translators, © Biblioteca Nacional de España.

The main censor and reviewer who examined the Gospels on behalf of the *Congregatio Indicis* was Bonardo, as suggested by the improvements and amendments written in his hand. He collated the Latin translation against the Vulgata and partly harmonized the Arabic and its Latin translation with it. The Vulgata was the Latin version of the Bible declared as the official version for the Roman Church (and designated as the only ‘authentic text’) during the fourth session of the Council of Trent in 1546.<sup>121</sup> In the margins of

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On the collaborators of the Congregation under the pontificate of Sixtus V, see Paul M. Baumgarten, *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln, mit zahlreichen Beiträgen zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Roms am Ausgange des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Rom: Selbstverlag des Verf., 1922, 211.

<sup>121</sup> “Moreover, the same holy council considers that noticeable benefit can accrue to the church of God if, from all the Latin editions of the sacred books which are in circulation, it establishes which is to be regarded as authentic. It decides and declares that the old well known Latin Vulgate edition which has been tested in the church by long use over so many centuries should be kept as the authentic text in public readings, debates, sermons and explanations; and no one is to dare or presume on any pretext to reject it” (Norman P. Tanner,

MS Res. 208, we frequently read notes such as “Pay attention to the Vulgata” (Lat. *attende uulgatam*) and “This is not in the Vulgata” (Lat. *hoc non est in uulgata*).<sup>122</sup> However, the harmonization remained partial and cannot be equated with the strict word-to-word adherence of the later *Biblia Sacra Arabica* of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to the text of the Vulgata.<sup>123</sup>

To give an example of the harmonization of a verse executed by Raimondi’s hand, we take a look at the following Arabic verse, which appears in the Gospel of John at the opening section of the Coptic chapter 21 (=John 8:25): “They [the Jews] said to him [Jesus]: ‘Who are you?’ And Jesus said to them: ‘I am who began speaking to you’.”<sup>124</sup> When the verse was collated against the text of the Vulgata, as indicated by Raimondi, Jesus’s answer was adapted to the Latin and thus distorted in the Arabic version. In the margin of MS Res. 208, we read as follows: “At the beginning, who and I speak to you” (Arab. *bad<sup>u</sup> alladhī wa-atakallamu lakum*; Lat. *principium qui [sic!] et loquor uobis*).<sup>125</sup>

Another clear indication of an adaptation of the Arabic Vulgate to the Vulgata is a verse in the Gospel of Mark at the end of the Coptic chapter 17 (=the opening section of

ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990, 2:664).

For details, see John W. O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013, 94-99.

<sup>122</sup> See Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fols 149r; 155v; 156r; 170v; 234r; 236v; 238r; 259v; 260v; 266r; 281r; 308r; 366v; 377v; 386r; 396v; 400r; 402v (margins).

<sup>123</sup> See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 131. On the history of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* in Iran, see below, Chapter 5.2.

<sup>124</sup> In Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fol. 204v:6-7, and Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 377v:3-5 (Arab. lines), the original Arabic reads as follows:

فقالوا له أنت من أنت فقال لهم يسوع اناي وان كنت قد بدات بمخاطبيكم [كذا].

In Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 377v:3-5 (Lat. lines), the Latin translation reads as follows: “Dixerunt ergo ei: Tu quis es? Dixit autem illis Jesus, ego sum qui confui loqui uobiscum.”

<sup>125</sup> Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 377v.

Mark 6) that does not appear in the Vulgata. Following the account of Jesus sending out the twelve disciples and his dictum in Mark 6:11, the following verse which appears in the Greek Majority text (Koine), the Peshitta, and partly in the Bohairic tradition has been inserted in the Arabic Vulgate:<sup>126</sup> “Truly I [Jesus] tell you [the apostles], Sodom and Gomorrah will have more rest on the day of judgment than that city [that did not welcome you].”<sup>127</sup> When the reviewer of MS Res. 208 erased the Arabic verse and its Latin translation, he stated in the margin “The whole verse is suppressed in the Vulgata” (Lat. *hoc totum signatum subest in editione uulgata*).<sup>128</sup> However, since he neglected to erase the first word of the Arabic verse, *al-ḥaqq*, it was retained in the monolingual version of the printed text, in which it appears as an enigmatic annex to Mark 6:11.<sup>129</sup> By contrast, the word was omitted in the printing of the Arabic-Latin version.<sup>130</sup> The printed Arabic text of the bilingual edition is thus not completely identical to the monolingual version of the Gospels.

Following the Vatican censorship, the *imprimatur* was granted by the *Congregatio Indicis* for the monolingual and bilingual versions of the edition. On the printed sample pages of the two versions that appear in the appendix to MS Res. 208, we read the following note: “On the basis of the testimonies of those [translators], the Congregation of the Index has

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<sup>126</sup> For the manuscripts of the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions, see the critical apparatus in *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

<sup>127</sup> In Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fols 92v:16-93r:1, and MS Madrid, BNE, Res. 208, fol. 149r:6-8 (Arab. lines), the original Arabic reads as follows:

الحقّ اقول لكم ان سدوم وغامورا [كذا] يكون [كذا] لهما راحه يوم الدين اكثر من تلك المدينه.

The verse is largely identical to Matthew 10:15 (Arab. *al-ḥaqq aqūlu lakum inna li-arḍ Sadūm wa-Ghāmūrā [sic!] rāḥa fī yawm al-dīn akthar min tilka l-madīna*). See Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, fol. 42r:11-12; MS Madrid, BNE, Res. 208, fol. 37a:9-37b:2 (Arab. lines); *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*, 33:2-4; *Arbaʿat Anājīl*, 46:14-47:1 (Arab. lines).

<sup>128</sup> Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 149r.

<sup>129</sup> See Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, fol. 149r:6; *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*, 132:8.

<sup>130</sup> See *Arbaʿat Anājīl*, 169:5 (Arab. lines).



found that this edition can be published” (Lat. *horum testimoniis confisa Congregatio Indicis editionem hanc publicari posse censuit*).<sup>131</sup> The notes are signed by Della Rovere and Zobbia on behalf of the Congregation and the Apostolic Palace. A *terminus ante quem* for the granting of the *imprimatur* is suggested by Zobbia’s death in 1589 CE.

It is clear from a comparison between the original Arabic source of Coptic provenance – Rome, BNCR, MS Or. 84, the Arabic-Latin manuscript model for the printing – Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, and the printed edition, that a revised version of the Arabic Vulgate – called here the Roman Arabic Vulgate – and its Latin translation went to press in Rome. As a quasi-authoritative edition censored by the Vatican, the first printing of the Gospels in Arabic translation was a revolutionary step, which allowed the production of a uniform and standardized text on a large scale and in less time. The publication of the Roman Arabic Vulgate shows how the media of manuscript and printed text were used for the purpose of Catholic evangelization. Therefore, it is justified to assert, as Sidney H. Griffith has put it, that “the Bible in Arabic entered a new phase in its history with the advent of printing and the increasing involvement of Western Christians in the affairs of Arabic-speaking Christians living in the World of Islam.”<sup>132</sup>

However, it is argued in this study that the printing of an Arabic version of the Gospels authorized by the Vatican has not only had an effect on Christian communities in Islamicate societies, but also had consequences for the Muslim reception of the Scriptures. The importation of printed copies of the Gospels transformed the interreligious encounter and provoked new Muslim responses to Christian faith. In the context of a universalistic mission,

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<sup>131</sup> Madrid, BNE, MS Res. 208, pp. 9; 2 (appendix; I am grateful to Walter Senner for his assistance in deciphering this note).

<sup>132</sup> Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 4.

Arabic printing became a pivotal ‘agent of change’, which led to a renewed cross-cultural interchange between religious representatives.<sup>133</sup> The present study will further explore this aspect that still remains a *desideratum* in the study of the history of Arabic Bible printing, looking in particular at the Imāmī reception of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia during the seventeenth century.

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<sup>133</sup> On the effects of the advent of printing, see the standard work by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin, eds, *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.

## Chapter 2: Carmelite Missionaries at Work: The Dissemination of Printed Copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Seventeenth-Century Persia

Just as merchants, ambassadors, individual visitors, and missionaries travelled from one part of the world to the other, manuscripts and books circulated among different peoples, countries, and religious communities. Arab Christian contemporaries such as Meletius Karma (1572-1635), the Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Aleppo, were aware of the edition of the Gospels in Arabic by the Medici Oriental Press and criticized it as being “a weak version” (Arab. *nuskha saqīma*).<sup>134</sup> Despite its errata and editorial shortcomings, the edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate became a pioneering instrument for the Catholic missionary activity in the Middle East as well as the Indo-Persian world.

Following its publication in 1590/91, printed copies of the monolingual and bilingual versions were sent to Eastern Churches in the Levant, Aleppo, and Jerusalem, as well as Alexandria and Iraq.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, copies of the Arabic-Latin edition reached Portuguese

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<sup>134</sup> Carsten-Michael Walbiner, “‘Und um Jesu willen, schickt sie nicht ungebunden!’ Die Bemühungen des Meletius Karma (1572-1635) um den Druck arabischer Bücher in Rom,” in: R. Ebied and H. Teule, eds, *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage: In Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S.I. at the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Leuven: Peeters, 2004: 163-175, here 169. See also idem, “Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Approaches to the Bible at the Time of the Community’s Cultural Reawakening in the Early Modern Period (17th-Early 18th Centuries),” in: Binay and Leder, *Translating the Bible into Arabic*: 53-61, esp. 55-56.

<sup>135</sup> See Florencio del Niño Jesús, *A Persia (1604-1609): Peripecias de una embajada pontificia que fué a Persia a principios del siglo XVII*, Pamplona: R. Bengaray, 1929, 24; Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 98, 100; Borbone, “Introduzione,” 25-26.

colonies in Hormuz and Goa.<sup>136</sup> In 1604, the traveler G. B. Vecchietti arrived in Agra, India, with a printed copy of the bilingual version of the Gospels for the local Jesuit mission.<sup>137</sup> The Scottish traveler George Strachan (b. ca. 1572, d. after 1634) was also in possession of a copy of the Arabic version printed in Rome. He completed reading the Gospels “in twenty days” during his sojourn near Babylon in 1616, before travelling further east.<sup>138</sup>

In the early seventeenth century, when the Safavid Empire attracted renewed missionary interest, printed copies of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate were first introduced to the Iranian mainland. In 1604, nearly two decades before the foundation of the *Propaganda Fide*, Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) dispatched a delegation of Discalced Carmelites to Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 996/1588-1038/1629) to form a Christian-Persian alliance against the Ottomans.<sup>139</sup> Rumors that the shāh was ready to accept Christianity had inspired

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<sup>136</sup> See Borbone, “Introduzione,” 26, 38-39, n. 52.

<sup>137</sup> See Edward D. Maclagan, “The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65 (1896): 38-113, esp. 95; Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 211. The imported copy served the Jesuit missionary Jerónimo Xavier, as a model for a bilingual Persian-Latin version of the Gospels for the Mughal ruler of India. The Persian-Latin translation, however, has not been completed. For details, see *ibid.*, 213-216. On Jerónimo Xavier, see below, Chapter 3.1.

<sup>138</sup> See Giorgio Levi della Vida, *George Strachan: Memorials of A Wandering Scottish Scholar of the Seventeenth Century*, Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1956, 70.

<sup>139</sup> For details, see Florencio del Niño Jesús, *La Orden de Santa Teresa, la Fundación de la Propaganda Fide y las Misiones Carmelitanas: Estudio histórico (...)*, Madrid: Tipogr. Nieto y Compañía, 1923, 12-17; Ingoli, *Relazione*, 105-116; Rudi Matthee, “Christians in Safavid Iran: Hospitality and Harassment,” *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (1384/2005): 1-42, esp. 21-23; *idem*, “The Politics of Protection: Iberian Missionaries in Safavid Iran under Shāh ʿAbbās I (1587-1629),” in: Adang and Schmidtke, *Contacts and Controversies*: 245-271, esp. 246-248; *idem*, “Introduction,” in: *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols, ed. and translated by H. Chick, London: Tauris, 2012, 1:vii-xv, esp. vii-ix.

the pope's initiative.<sup>140</sup> An earlier mission by the two Portuguese envoys Francisco da Costa and Diego de Miranda, who were dispatched from Rome, had failed.<sup>141</sup>

Clement VIII saw a favorable moment to negotiate a union of non-Catholics living under Safavid rule, in particular Armenians and members of the Church of the East, with Rome and to spread the Christian faith among Muslims.<sup>142</sup> A member of the Carmelite delegation relates that Clement VIII “bade us tell no one (and especially in Persia) the principal object of our mission, which was to bring back those realms to the knowledge of the holy Gospel.”<sup>143</sup> The diplomatic mission of the Carmelite friars thus had a clear missionary intention.

In December 1607, three and a half years after their departure and two years after the death of Clement VIII and the election of Paul V, the Carmelites reached Persia, having travelled overland via Poland and Russia.<sup>144</sup> The delegation consisted of the two Spaniards Juan Tadeo de San Elisio (1574-1633 or -34) and Vicente de San Francisco (1574-1623), the

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<sup>140</sup> For the European perception of ʿAbbās's rumored conversion, see Chloë Houston, “Turning Persia: The Prospect of Conversion in Safavid Iran,” in: L. Stelling, H. Hendrix, and T. M. Richardson, eds, *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, Leiden: Brill, 2012: 85-107.

<sup>141</sup> For details, see Carlos Alonso, “Una embajada de Clemente VIII a Persia (1600-1609),” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 34 (1996): 7-125.

<sup>142</sup> See Metzler, “Nicht erfüllte Hoffnungen”; Roberto Gulbenkian, “Religious Relations between the Armenians and the Portuguese Augustinians in Persia in the 17th Century,” translated by J. Flannery, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 63 (2011): 5-43, esp. 18-19.

<sup>143</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols, [ed. and translated by H. Chick,] London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939 (repr., London: Tauris, 2012), 2:971.

<sup>144</sup> For details, see Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, *Histoire de l'établissement de la mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes-Déchaussés (de l'année 1604 à 1612). Extraite des Annales de l'Ordre et de divers manuscrits*, Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, 1885, 42-109, 131-225; Carlos Alonso, “Nuevas aportaciones para la historia del primer viaje misional de los Carmelitas Descalzos a Persia (1603-1608),” *Missionalia Hispanica* 19 (1962): 249-287; idem, “El premier viaje desde Persia a Roma del P. Vicente de S. Francisco, OCD,” *Teresianum* 11 (1989): 517-550.

Genoan Paolo Simone di Gesù Maria (1576-1643), and several companions.<sup>145</sup> In Rome, the friars were in close contact with the Medici Oriental Press and its director Raimondi, who recorded their departure in his personal diary.<sup>146</sup>

Before leaving for Persia, the Carmelites were supplied by the printing press with printed books, which they carried with them to the Safavid imperial capital of Isfahan.<sup>147</sup> When, in early January 1608, the delegation was received in audience by ʿAbbās I, Paolo Simone presented, *inter alia*, two Arabic books to the shāh, namely the four Gospels, i.e. the Roman Arabic Vulgate (printed in 1590/91), and Euclid’s *Elements* (printed in 1594).<sup>148</sup> In addition, the Morgan Picture Bible, also known as the Maciejowski Bible, a thirteenth-

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<sup>145</sup> On the Carmelite friars, see below, Chapter 2.1.

<sup>146</sup> See Jones, “Learning Arabic,” 38.

<sup>147</sup> Although the Augustinians had arrived in Isfahan five years before the Carmelites in 1602, there is no evidence that they imported books printed by the Medici Oriental Press. Since the friars were sent from India to Persia by the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, it appears unlikely that printed copies from Rome had been accessible to them. See Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, *Histoire de l’établissement*, 33-34.

For the beginnings of the Augustinian presence in Iran, see Carlos Alonso, “Los Agustinos en la isla de Ormuz (1573-1622),” *Archivo Agustiniiano* 92 (2008): 125-140; idem, “The Augustinians in Hormuz (1573-1622),” in: W. Floor and E. Herzig, eds, *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, London: Tauris, 2012: 365-369; Rui M. Loureiro, “The Persian Ventures of Fr. António de Gouveia,” in: Matthee and Flores, *Portugal*, 249-264; John Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602-1747)*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, esp. 73-76.

<sup>148</sup> “Puis, il [Paolo Simone di Gesù Maria] lui offrit ses présents : c’étaient deux magnifiques volumes en langue arabe, envoyés par le cardinal Cinthius, et contenant, l’un les Saints-Evangiles, l’autre les Eléments d’Euclide; l’histoire de l’Ancien-Testament, ornée d’un grand nombre de fines miniatures [...]” (Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, *Histoire de l’établissement*, 235). See also Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 36-37, 42-43. The gifts are not specified in Paolo Simone’s report, as published in *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:124. On the Arabic recension of Euclid’s *Elements*, see Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 88; Cassinet, “L’aventure de l’édition”; Gregg de Young, “Further Adventures of the Rome 1594 Arabic Redaction of Euclid’s *Elements*,” *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 66 (2012): 265-294.

century picture book in manuscript form that illustrates parts of the Old Testament, was presented to ʿAbbās I.<sup>149</sup>

While the illustrated Bible manuscript was a gift by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski (1548-1608), Bishop of Cracow, who had hosted the Carmelites on their journey through Poland, the printed copies of the Gospels and Euclid’s *Elements* were diplomatic gifts by Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini (ca. 1551-1610), the powerful cardinal-nephew of Clement VIII.<sup>150</sup> This is confirmed by Aldobrandini’s Persian letter to ʿAbbās I, dated 13 June 1604, in which he mentions “two Arabic books” (Pers. *dū jild-i kitāb-i ʿarabī*) to be presented by the Carmelite friars to the shāh.<sup>151</sup> The Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate was thus most certainly among the first printed books that became available in Iran.

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<sup>149</sup> For details, see Daniel Weiss, “Portraying the Past, Illuminating the Present: The Art of the Morgan Library Picture Bible,” in: W. Noel and D. Weiss, eds, *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library’s Medieval Picture Bible*, Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2002: 11-35; Marianna Shreve Simpson, “Shah ʿAbbas and His Picture Bible,” in: Noel and Weiss, *The Book of Kings*: 121-141; eadem, “Gifts for the Shah: An Episode in Hapsburg-Safavid Relations during the Reign of Philipp III and ʿAbbas I,” in: L. Komaroff, ed., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Art of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011: 125-139, esp. 138.

For a facsimile of the Morgan Picture Bible, see *The Morgan Crusader Bible*, 3 vols, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1998-99. In the eighteenth century, the manuscript was in the possession of Iranian Jews. On several folios, we read glosses in Judaeo-Persian by two unknown Jewish scribes. For details, see Vera B. Moreen, “Judeo-Persian Inscriptions in ‘The Morgan Crusader Bible’,” in: *The Morgan Crusader Bible*, 3:353-376.

<sup>150</sup> On him, see Elena Fasano Guarini, “Aldobrandini, Cinzio,” in: DBI, 2 (1960): 102-104; Kracht, *Lexikon der Kardinäle*, 1:363-364.

<sup>151</sup> *Asnād-i pādiriyān-i karmilī bāzmānda az ʿaṣr-i Shāh ʿAbbās ṣafavī (Remained Documents of Carmilite [sic!] Padres Since Shah Abbas Era)*, ed. M. Sutūdh, with the collaboration of Ī. Afshār, Tihārān: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1383/2004, 37-38, no. 7, here 38. Aldobrandini had been created cardinal deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro by Clement VIII in 1593 and was also called “Cardinal of San Giorgio” (کاردینال سن جرجه). For the shāh’s reply to the cardinal, dated Rabīʿ I 1018 AH (=June-July 1609), see *Asnād-i pādiriyān-i karmilī*, 52-53, no. 19.

While the other friars remained in Isfahan, Vicente de San Francisco continued his journey from Persia to the archbishop of Goa for another diplomatic initiative.<sup>152</sup> After his return to Rome, the friar prepared to set out on another journey to the East.<sup>153</sup> According to a note by Raimondi, Vicente received in June 1610, *inter alia*, four printed copies of the Arabic and two of the Arabic-Latin version of the Medici edition of the Gospels.<sup>154</sup> These copies were destined for the mission in Persia. When, in August 1610, Vicente and his companions boarded a ship in Venice for their passage to the Levant, they had two small cases with books from Rome (and Venice) with them.<sup>155</sup> The friar probably brought the books, among them the printed copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, along with him when leaving for Isfahan where he arrived in May 1611.<sup>156</sup>

In contrast with the Ottoman Empire, no printing press existed in Persia before the arrival of the missionaries in the early seventeenth century.<sup>157</sup> Attempts to introduce local printing with Perso-Arabic type were first made by the Carmelites. When, in 1618, Juan Tadeo presented two other printed copies of the Medici Oriental Press, namely the Gospels and the short Latin introduction to the Arabic alphabet entitled *Alphabetum arabicum* (printed in 1592), to ʿAbbās I, the shāh was delighted about the novel printing technology.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> On him, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:1022-1026.

<sup>153</sup> See Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, *Histoire de l'établissement*, 351-355.

<sup>154</sup> See Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press," 100, 107, n. 66; Farina, "La nascita della Tipografia," 53.

<sup>155</sup> "El sábado, 28 de agosto [1610], se embarcaron, y con ellos embarcaron dos pequeñas cajas de libros, 'de los cuales, parte vinieron de Roma y parte los compraron en Venecia'" (Florencio del Niño Jesús, *A Persia [1604-1609]*, 21).

<sup>156</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:193, 2:1023; Florencio del Niño Jesús, *A Persia (1604-1609)*, 37.

<sup>157</sup> For the history of printing in Ottoman lands, see Nil Pektaş, "The Beginnings of Printing in the Ottoman Capital: Book Production and Circulation in Early Modern Istanbul," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 16 (2015): 3-32.

<sup>158</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:233, 305; Pedro Ortega García, "Juan Tadeo de San Eliseo (1574-1634)," *Kalakorikos* 17 (2012): 161-183, esp. 178; Rosemary V. Lee, "A Printing Press for Shah 'Abbas:



He is said to have “showed much interest and expressed a wish to introduce [the printing of Arabic and Persian letters] into his own country.”<sup>159</sup>

By late 1628 or early 1629, a decade after the shāh’s request, a set of Arabic type was imported into Iran by the Carmelites.<sup>160</sup> However, there is no evidence that the press has been used by the friars in Isfahan. Yet another decade later, Armenians in New Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan, founded a printing press exclusively for Armenian type, which was in operation between 1636 and 1650 and, again, between 1686 and 1693.<sup>161</sup> However, it was not until the early nineteenth century that the first Persian book was printed in Iran, almost two centuries later than in Europe.<sup>162</sup>

Although no printed copies of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate can be identified in present-day libraries in Iran, we may assume with reasonable certainty that they

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Science, Learning, and Evangelization in the Near East, 1600-1650,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2013, 23. On *Alphabetum arabicum*, see Jones, “The Medici Oriental Press,” 89.

<sup>159</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:233, 305. See also Lee, “A Printing Press,” 24.

<sup>160</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:305-306, 2:853. Lee’s assumption that “the much-vaunted printing-press never arrived in Isfahan” (see her “A Printing Press,” 205) is thus unjustified.

<sup>161</sup> For details, see Willem M. Floor, “The First-Printing Press in Iran,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130 (1980): 369-371; Francis Richard, “Un témoignage sur les débuts de l’imprimerie à Nor Ĵulfa,” *Revue des études arméniennes* 14 (1980): 483-484; Sebouh D. Aslanian, “Port Cities and Printers: Reflections on Early Modern Global Armenian Print Culture,” *Book History* 17 (2014): 51-93, esp. 57-60, 65; idem, “The Early Arrival of Print in Safavid Iran: New Light on the First Armenian Printing Press in New Julfa, Isfahan (1636-1650, 1686-1693),” *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna/Yerevan, 2014): 381-468.

<sup>162</sup> For details, see Ulrich Marzolph, “Early Printing History in Iran (1817-ca. 1900). Part I: Printed Manuscript,” in: Hanebutt-Benz et al., *Middle Eastern Languages*: 249-268, 271-272, 538-539, esp. 251-256; Īraj Afshār, “Printing and Publishing,” in: J. T. P. de Bruijn, ed., *General Introduction to Persian Literature*, London: Tauris, 2009: 430-446, esp. 431-435; Nile Green, “Journeyman, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 203-224; idem, “Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30 (2010): 473-490. On the history of Persian Bible printing, see Majid Ghulāmī Jalisa, “Tarjamahā-yi chāpī-i Kitāb-i muqaddas ba zabān-i fārsī tā qarn-i bīstum milādī,” *Īrān-Nāmeḥ* 27/4 (2012): 62-77.

existed among Shīʿī Muslims as well as local Armenians.<sup>163</sup> This is reflected in secondary sources. In May 1812, the Anglican missionary Henry Martyn (1781-1812) was shown “an Arabic version of the Gospels, printed at Rome” in the residence of the Armenian Apostolic bishop in New Julfa, where the Armenians had been forcibly resettled by ʿAbbās I in the early seventeenth century.<sup>164</sup>

Furthermore, manuscript copies directly made from the *editio princeps* of the Gospels in Arabic translation give clear evidence for the circulation of printed texts from Rome among Shīʿī scholars (and Armenians) in Iran. As it is known, the production of such handwritten transcripts of printed editions was not uncommon in the world of Islam. To give an example, Qum, Marʿashī, MS 12058/1-4, fols 1r-77v, is a direct copy from the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate.<sup>165</sup> As we see in Figure 4, the reproduction even includes the hand-copied imprint of the “Typographia Medicea Orientale” in Arabic and Latin, as extant in the monolingual version of the printed edition.<sup>166</sup> The imprint was apparently copied *in situ* by a Persian-speaking scribe unfamiliar with the Latin.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Unfortunately, I had no opportunity either to consult the catalogues of printed books held by libraries in Iran, which are available in the Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī (the Library of the Center for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia) in Tehran, or to explore the Kitābkhāna-yi Kalīsā-yi Vānk (Vank Cathedral Library) of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Julfa/Isfahan. I assume that books and, perhaps, manuscripts with the *ex-libris* of the Carmelites are preserved in the last-mentioned library. On the history of the Carmelite library in Isfahan, see below, Chapter 2.2.

<sup>164</sup> See Henry Martyn, *Memoir*, 2<sup>nd</sup> American ed. J. Sargent, Boston: Armstrong, Crocker and Brewster, 1820, 429.

<sup>165</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Ḥaẓrat Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā Najafī Marʿashī*, vol. 1-, Qum: Mihr-i Ustuvār, 1354-/1975-76-], 30:444-448; DINĀ, 2:1121, nos 58981-58984; FANKHĀ, 4:987. The woodcuts by Antonio Tempesta do not appear in the copy.

<sup>166</sup> In Qum, Marʿashī, MS 12058/4, fol. 77v:12-17, the recopied imprint reads as follows (compare to *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*, 368; for a facsim., see Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, 88):

مطبوعة بمدينة روما بطبعان غران دوقا في سنة الف وخمسمائة واحدی وتسعون مسيحية.

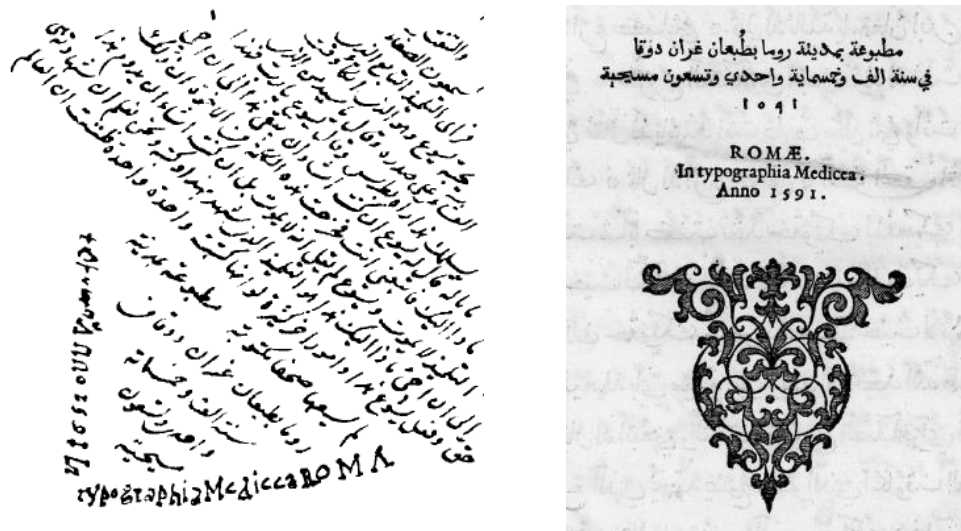


Figure 4. The Arabic-Latin imprint of the monolingual version of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G.Bibbia.II.116), © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; and Qum, Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-‘uzmā Mar‘ashī, MS 12058/1-4, fol. 77v (detail), The recopied imprint of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic, © Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-‘uzmā Mar‘ashī.

Following its production, MS 12058 circulated among different Shi‘i Muslim readers. On the front page of the codex, we read an ownership statement by a certain Nawrūz ‘Alī, dated 1180 AH (=1766-67), as well as three undated seal impressions on the verso page, two of them bearing the names ‘Alī and Nawrūz. Moreover, an undated collation note by a certain Hidāyat Allāh ibn Bārānī Hamadānī, who could not be identified in the Shi‘i biographical works, appears on the front page.<sup>168</sup> In sum, the various Persian annotations, notes, and seal

“Anno 1591 in typographia Medicea [sic!] Roma.”

<sup>167</sup> Throughout Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 12058/1-4, we read marginal annotations with partial translations of biblical verses from the Arabic into Persian, all penned by the same hand as the Arabic text of the Gospels.

<sup>168</sup> In his collation note, Hidāyat Allāh claims that he translated “the Gospels, the Psalms, the first scrolls, the scrolls of Abraham and Moses, and all books of the prophets and the messengers” (Arab. *al-Injīl wa-l-Zabūr wa-l-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā wa-ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā wa-jamī‘ ṣuḥuf al-anbiyā’ wa-l-mursalīn*) from the Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew into Arabic. He further states that his own Arabic translation of the Gospels was collated against the version preserved in Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 12058/1-4. However, I could not find evidence for the transmission of such Arabic translations attributed to Hidāyat Allāh. In Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 12058/1, fol. 1r, the original Arabic reads as follows:

الحمد لله الذي [هو] فرد الاحد الصمد ﴿لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ﴾ بعد قال الحقير الفقير المحتاج الى رحمة الله الغني

impressions extant in MS 12058/1-4 suggest that Shī'ī Muslims relied on the edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate for the purpose of studying the Gospels.<sup>169</sup>

Printed copies of the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation were apparently disseminated by the evangelizing friars among Shī'ī scholars and representatives. After Juan Tadeo had presented a copy to ʿAbbās I in 1618, he stated to do “the like in future, not only as regards royalties, but for distributing books among all the rest in order to disseminate the word of God and the tenets of our Faith.”<sup>170</sup> A few years later, in 1623, the

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ابن باراني هدايت الله الهمداني غفر الله له ولوالديه لما رايت كتب الاحاديث والقران المحمدي ذكرت فيها كتب ما سلف قال عز من قائل في القران ﴿إِنَّ هَذَا لَفِي الصُّحُفِ الْأُولَىٰ صُحُفِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَىٰ﴾ و﴿مَثَلُهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَمَثَلُهُمْ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ﴾ ﴿وَأَتَيْنَا دَاوُدَ زُبُورًا﴾ اتشوق واحب ان اعلم ما ذكر الله تعالى فيها وكان جميعها بلغة [كذا] سرياني [كذا] ويوناني [كذا] وعبراني [كذا] اريد ان اتعلمها عن اعلمها ذهبت عند النصارى واليهود والفرنكسيس تعلمت ما في الانجيل والزبور وصحف [كذا] الاولى وصحف ابراهيم وموسى وجميع صحف الانبياء والمرسلين من المتقدمين والمتأخرين بتوفيق الله رب العالمين ونقلت الكتب المذكورة من لغتهم الى لغة [كذا] العربى [كذا] حتى انتفع منه العرب والعجم وتكون لى آثارًا وخلقًا فى هذه العالم بين اولاد بنى آدم اترجى من الذى قرأه او سمعه ان اذكرني بالدعاء وطلب المغفرة والله المستعان واليه المتكلان ابتدأت بذكر الانجيل المتداول بين النصارى بدون زيادة ونقصان ثم وجدت انجيلًا وزبورًا يكونان عربيين قوبلت معهما فاختلفا النسخ في بعض المكان يكون بسبب هذا.

<sup>169</sup> For other manuscript copies of the Medici edition of the Gospels, see (i) Tehran, Dānīshgāh, MS 7197, 205 fols (own foliation); the Gospels are bound in the following order: Mark, Matthew, [Luke], and John; the woodcuts do not appear in the copy; on the front page, we read the seal impression of Muḥammad Taqī ibn Bāqir al-Sharīf al-Yazdī(?), dated 1046 AH (=1636-37); in addition, a translation of selected verses into Classical Armenian appears in the margins (see fols 2v-3r; 4r; 41v; 79r; 82v-83r; 88r; 107r; 144v; 156v; 203r); (ii) Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 2195, 73 fols, with *basmala*, *ḥamdala*, and *taṣliyya* added to the beginning or end of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke (see fols 1v:1-2; 23r:3-5; 35v:1); the woodcuts do not appear in the copy; on the front page, we read a note by Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1152 AH (=1739-40), and two anonymous notes, dated Rajab 1285 AH (=October-November 1868) and 15 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1297 AH (=18 November 1880), as well as the seal impression of “i’tizād al-saṭṭana,” dated 1279(?) AH (=1862-63); we also read a seal impression of the Madrasa library (previously called Nāṣiri), dated 1297 AH (=1879-80) (see fol. 73r); MS 2195 was in the possession of the Qajar minister ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā, before it was endowed to the Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār (today: Muṭahharī) in Tehran.

For descriptions of these manuscripts, see ʿAlī N. Munzavī and Muḥammad T. Dānīshpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭ-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī va Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān*, vol. 1-, Tīhrān: Dānīshgāh, 1330-/1951-, 16:484; Muḥammad T. Dānīshpazhūh and ʿAlī N. Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār*, vol. 1-, Tīhrān: Dānīshgāh, 1962-, 3:198; DINĀ, 2:188, nos 33904, 33906; FANKHĀ, 4:936-937.

<sup>170</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:233, 2:924.

governor of Fars, Imām Qulī Khān (d. 1042/1632), asked the Carmelites for books from Rome which were needed for a *madrassa* library in Shīrāz. Besides philosophical texts in Greek and Latin, as well as Arabic-Latin dictionaries, he explicitly asked for “the Bible in Arabic.”<sup>171</sup>

From what we have seen so far, there is clear evidence of the importation of printed copies of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate to the Safavid Empire from the early seventeenth century onwards. These copies were made accessible by the missionaries to Shīʿī Muslims, who reproduced them in manuscripts made from the printed text. These handwritten copies circulated in the country and considerably facilitated the access of Muslims to the Gospels. The new availability and accessibility of the Gospels in Arabic translation set the stage for an extensive Shīʿī reception of the fundamental scriptures of Christianity. It is no exaggeration to say that the Medici edition based on a manuscript of Coptic provenance was the standard textual source for Shīʿī polemicists in Iran during the seventeenth century, until the arrival of printed copies of other editions of the Gospels in Arabic, in particular the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:279. See also Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 37, n. 169; John D. Gurney, “Pietro della Valle: The Limits of Perception,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 103-116, esp. 113, n. 53; Sonja Brentjes, “Early Modern Western European Travellers in the Middle East and Their Reports about the Sciences,” in: N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel, eds, *Sciences, techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (X<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle): actes du colloque tenu à l’Université de Téhéran, 7-9 June 1998*, Téhéran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 2004 (repr. in: Sonja Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16th-17th Centuries*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, no. V): 379-420, esp. 409.

<sup>172</sup> For details, see below, Chapter 5.2.

## 2.1 Catholic-Shī'ī Encounters in Isfahan

The missionaries who arrived in the shāh's capital Isfahan arouse suspicion among the local Imāmī scholars. Their attitude towards the missionaries was ambiguous. On the one hand, the scholars showed a certain curiosity about the strangers and their religion; on the other hand, they opposed the missionary work of the friars and their growing influence at the royal court.<sup>173</sup> When, in 1608, 'Abbās I gave the Carmelite friars a house in Isfahan and the privilege to build a church, the newly established convent quickly became a crucial place for interreligious encounters and exchanges.<sup>174</sup>

Being among the first Carmelites who arrived in Safavid Iran, Juan Tadeo de San Elisio played an important role as a political and cultural intermediary.<sup>175</sup> Born in 1574 in Calahorra, Castile, Juan joined the Order in Valladolid at the age of twenty-two. Before he was sent to Persia, he had spent four years in Rome and Naples, where he became a member of the newly founded Italian congregation of the Discalced Carmelites. Thanks to his language training in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, the friar quickly gained the shāh's affection

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<sup>173</sup> See Rudi Matthee, "Between Aloofness and Fascination: Safavid Views of the West," *Iranian Studies* 31 (1998): 219-246, esp. 229-230; idem, "The Politics of Protection," 259-260.

<sup>174</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:143, 2:923, 1029-1031; Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, *Histoire de l'établissement*, 252-253; Florencio del Niño Jesús, *En Persia (1608-1624): Su fundación, sus embajadas, su apostolado*, Pamplona: R. Bengaray, 1930, 67-68; Francis Richard, "Les privilèges accordés aux religieux catholiques par les Safavides: quelques documents inédits," *Dabireh* 6 (1989): 167-182.

<sup>175</sup> On him, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:920-934; Florencio del Niño Jesús, *A Persia (1604-1609)*, 7-10; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum (1584-1940)*, Romae: Curiam generalitiam, 1940, 36, no. 56; Gulbenkian, "Religious Relations," 36-39; Ortega García, "Juan Tadeo de San Elisio"; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 122-126, Chapter 5.6.1.

and is even said to have become his confidant. On several occasions, he served ʿAbbās I as an interpreter and was sent by him as an envoy to European courts.<sup>176</sup>

In the mission of the Carmelites, Juan Tadeo held different positions. He was appointed prior of the convent in Isfahan, vicar provincial of Persia (in office 1618-21), and vicar general of the missions in the Orient (in office 1615-21). In 1623, he was engaged in the foundation of a new convent of the Carmelites in Shīrāz. During his sojourn in Rome from 1629 to 1632, he was consecrated the first Latin bishop of the newly created diocese of Isfahan and thus became the first bishop in the history of the Order. However, before he could reach his new post in Persia, he suffered an accident and died during his journey through the Iberian Peninsula in 1633 on his way to Lisbon.

Juan Tadeo's influence on the exchanges between Catholics and Shī'ī Muslims becomes also manifest in his efforts to translate Christian works into Persian.<sup>177</sup> In contrast to the agenda of the Vatican (which considered Arabic translations sufficient), his local experience made him realize the dire need for Persian translations for his apologetic missionary approach towards Shī'īs. In a letter to Rome dated 26 March 1616, the Carmelite friar justified his frequent conversations "with the Shah and his grandees and ministers" by "show[ing] them the Illuminative Way and the use of Christian perfection, because [...] they come thence to conceive an esteem for the purity of our religion and its ministers."<sup>178</sup> The use of a Persian translation of the Bible would most certainly have facilitated these efforts.

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<sup>176</sup> See Florencio del Niño Jesús, *En Persia (1608-1624)*, esp. 26-27, 63-66, 71-73, 76-80.

<sup>177</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:231-233, 240-241, 2:922, 924, 933; Florencio del Niño Jesús, *La Orden de Santa Teresa*, 166-167, no. 49; idem, *En Persia (1608-1624)*, 71, 112; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 47, no. 98, 61, no. 158; Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation," 28-30; Ortega García, "Juan Tadeo de San Eliseo," 177-178, 182.

<sup>178</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:231.

Among the Persian translations attributed to Juan Tadeo, the sources mention the Psalms and the Gospels.<sup>179</sup> It remains unclear whether the translation of the Gospels has been completed.<sup>180</sup> While no copy of the Gospels has been identified until now, the translation of the Psalms is extant in six manuscripts known so far, which were copied in Iran and which are preserved today in libraries in Europe.<sup>181</sup> In the introduction to the Psalms, the translator is

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<sup>179</sup> See the aforementioned references on his translation efforts.

<sup>180</sup> For a discussion of the contradictory reports, see Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 41-43. Kenneth J. Thomas has recently suggested that Juan Tadeo’s Persian translation of the Gospels was extant in two anonymous and undated manuscripts: Paris, BNF, MS Pers. 2, 136 fols, which most probably was formerly in the possession of the Capuchins in Isfahan, and Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/2, fols 105v-201r. The last-mentioned manuscript is part of a miscellany that contains, as indicated in the introduction to the codex, a copy of Juan Tadeo’s Persian translation of the Psalms, dated Shawwāl 1205 AH (=June 1791) (see below). Thomas argues that “the existence of the identifiable Psalms translation together with the Gospels in the same Vienna manuscript, done by the same copyist at the same time, indicates that its translation of the Gospels is from Father John [=Juan Tadeo]. The Paris manuscript has only a translation of the Gospels with no introduction, but the colophon at the end of the Gospel of John is the same as in the Vienna manuscript though the copy was done by a different hand” (K. J. Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 130). However, there is no proof that the Persian translation of the Gospels, as found in Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/2, was done by Juan Tadeo. As is known in Arabic manuscript studies, it is not uncommon to find translations of biblical books of different provenance within the same codex. In the current state of research, there is no textual evidence that Juan Tadeo completed his Persian translation of the Gospels, as suggested by Thomas.

For descriptions of Paris, BNF, MS Pers. 2 and Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/2, see Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905-34, 1:7, no. 8; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 1:28-29; Gustav Flügel: *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols, Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865-67, 3:11, no. 1550/2; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 128-132, Chapters 5.6.4 and 5.6.5.

<sup>181</sup> The extant manuscripts are (i) Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 42, 116 fols, dated 1618 CE (a microfilm of the manuscript is available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 4694 F); (ii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 4, 103 fols, dated Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 1028 AH (=July-August 1619); (iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Or. 130, 106 fols, copied before 1620 CE; (iv) Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/1, fols 1v-103v, dated Shawwāl 1205 AH (=June 1791); (v) Munich, BSB, MS Cod.pers. 339, 117 fols; (vi) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Or. 439, 160 fols [the manuscripts preserved in Oxford not seen by me].

For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 72-73; Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian (...) Manuscripts*, 1:1050-1051, nos 1827-1829; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 47, no. 98; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 3:11, no. 1550/1; Joseph Aumer,



identified as “Pādrī Juvān” (Ḥuvān or Chūn), as Juan Tadeo was known among the Persians.<sup>182</sup> Two of the extant manuscripts of the Psalms bear the personal seal impression of “Mīr Pādrī Juvān” in Persian, accompanied with the Carmelite coat of arms (see Figure 5).<sup>183</sup>



Figure 5. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pers. 42, fol. 1v (detail), The seal impression of the Discalced Carmelite Juan Tadeo de San Elisio, © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

However, it is clear from the already mentioned letter of Juan Tadeo to Rome dated 26 March 1616, that the Persian translation of the Psalms has been a team effort, initiated and supervised by him. The translation was made by an unidentified Iranian Jew from the original Hebrew, then collated by Juan Tadeo against the text of the Vulgata, and finally recorded by several Shīcī assistants. The Jew and the Shīcīs were remunerated by the missionary. Juan Tadeo relates as follows:

To this end I am composing various works in the Persian language, translating into it the Christian Doctrine, the Gospel, the Psalms of David, in which in particular I have taken especial pains, because over this translation I have had three Persian Mullas and one Jewish Rabbi, a native of Persia employed: the last-mentioned interprets from the Hebrew text,

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*Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, München: Palm'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1866, 132-133. See also Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 40-41, n. 179.

<sup>182</sup> Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 42, fol. 3v:4; Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/1, fol. 2v:14-15; Munich, BSB, MS Cod.pers. 339, fol. 3v:3. The Persian version of Juan Tadeo's name is also mentioned in *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:923, n. 1 (حوان).

<sup>183</sup> See Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 42, fol. 1v; Munich, BSB, MS Cod.pers. 339, fol. 1v.

which I correct by the Latin, the two [sic!] Persians go on writing it down: the preface to these psalms I have taken from S. Augustine.<sup>184</sup>

A close examination of the extant manuscripts confirms that the Psalms were translated from the Hebrew into Persian and revised against the text of the Vulgata. The Psalms are structured in two different chapter divisions, namely the ones of the Masoretic text (Pers. *ḥisāb-i ʿibrī*) and of the Vulgata (Pers. *ḥisāb-i ʿisavī* or *ʿĪsaviyān*).

Among Juan Tadeo's Shīcī assistants who recorded the translation was a certain Mullā Qāsim. His name is mentioned in a note in the travel notebook of the well-known Roman polymath Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), who sojourned twice in Isfahan from February to December 1617 and, again, from December 1618 to October 1621.<sup>185</sup> The travel notebook comprises a list of Persian words quoted from Psalms 1-5 in the translation attributed to Juan Tadeo with Della Valle's own rendering into Italian. The Persian translation was accessed by the Roman traveler in Isfahan in 1619, most likely in the library of the Carmelites, as suggested by Della Valle's reading-list for the books he studied in the Safavid capital during that year.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:231. See also Gulbenkian, "The Translation," 39-40; Ortega García, "Juan Tadeo de San Eliseo," 177-178.

<sup>185</sup> See Modena, Biblioteca estense universitaria, MS gamma.G.3.3/4, pp. 63-195 (no foliation). For Della Valle's note on Mullā Qāsim, see *ibid.*, 119:5. It has been published in Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 183, no. 4. Kenneth J. Thomas's assumption that "there is no record of the names or any further information about the people who helped [Juan Tadeo] with the translation of these books" (see his *A Restless Search*, 126) is thus unjustified.

On European visitors to Iran and their travel narratives, see Rudi Matthee, "The Safavids under Western Eyes: Seventeenth-Century European Travelers to Iran," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009): 137-171; *idem*, "Safavid Iran through the Eyes of European Travelers," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 23 (2012): 10-24. On Della Valle, see John D. Gurney, "Della Valle, Pietro," in: *EIr*, 7 (1994): 251-255; Sonja Brentjes, "Pietro della Valle," in: *CMR1900*, vol. 10 (forthcoming).

<sup>186</sup> See Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fol. 35v:20-21. On Della Valle's reading-list, see below.

According to Juan Tadeo's introduction to the Psalms, the Persian translation was produced at the request of the shāh and completed on 11 April 1616.<sup>187</sup> About two years after the completion of the work, on 18 June 1618, Juan Tadeo presented a copy of the Persian Psalms to ʿAbbās I during an audience in Qazvīn.<sup>188</sup> The presentation copy to the shāh, however, has not been identified until today. ʿAbbās I is said to have “kissed [the book] and held [it] over his head, saying that he greatly prized it, and that whoever did not believe what was written therein was an infidel and insulted God.”<sup>189</sup> Apart from such reports preserved in Christian sources, there is no independent evidence that the shāh read translations of the Bible.<sup>190</sup>

Besides the engagement of the Carmelites at the royal court, the friars sought contact to the local Imāmī clergy. In the convent in Isfahan, they regularly welcomed scholars, engaged with them in theological debates, and granted them access to the books brought along from Europe and preserved in their private library. Hoping that the study of the Scriptures would persuade Muslims to accept Christian belief, the missionaries willingly made the Gospels and other biblical books available to Shīʿī scholars. In one of the earliest records of Shīʿī-Catholic exchanges, an interreligious encounter in Isfahan in 1608 was described by the Carmelite Paolo Simone di Gesù Maria in detail:<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> See Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 42, fol. 3v:4-5; Vienna, ÖNB, MS A.F. 85/1, fols 2v:15-3r:1; Munich, BSB, MS Cod.pers. 339, fol. 3v:3-4.

<sup>188</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:232.

<sup>189</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:240. For a slightly different report, which also mentions “the New Testament written in the Persian tongue,” see *ibid.*, 1:241, 2:924.

<sup>190</sup> For another report by a missionary, see Matthee, “The Politics of Protection,” 253.

<sup>191</sup> Paolo Simone was born in Genoa in 1576. He joined the Order of the Discalced Carmelites at the age of eighteen. After his studies in Spain, he returned to Italy. In 1604, he was sent to Persia as head of the Carmelite delegation. A few months after his arrival in 1607, he left for Rome to report to the pope. He never returned to Persia, but fulfilled various duties for the Order in Europe. He was Praepositus General

One of the chief Mullas, much esteemed by the king, by the nobles and by the other Mullas, both for his being of a great family as also for his learning, whom the Shah, on our arrival in Isfahan, charged to find out secretly the business on which we had come, [...] this man professes to be much our friend and well disposed to our holy Faith. He has told us that he wants to be a Christian, knowing the falsity of his own religion and, in order to be able the more easily to communicate with the Fathers, he has taken a house to ours.

He is translating the holy Gospels into the Persian language from the Gospels in Arabic, which we brought with us, he being very skilled in that tongue: and although there are such translations he says they are not perfect. He has advised us to proceed little by little in this initial stage, and first gain the goodwill of some Mullas, or doctors in their religion, and, in order for us to do so, he agreed to bring them to our house under the colour of curiosity and to lead them on to ask questions about the Gospel, which he would assist.

He is a man about sixty years of age, well disposed towards all the Franks by reason of his having been in Aleppo and had dealings with them: he is well up in philosophy and mathematics, and he asserts that he speaks freely to the king and to everyone. He has given us great hope of making conversions. I think that he is not pretending.<sup>192</sup>

Paolo Simone's report suggests that Shī'ī scholars frequented the convent of the Carmelites in Isfahan to discuss the Scriptures and Christian doctrines as early as 1608 CE. Shortly after the arrival of the friars, Paolo Simone tells us that an unidentified Shī'ī scholar, "a man about sixty years of age," began to make a Persian translation of the Gospels, most likely on the basis of the newly imported Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. This translation, if ever completed, has not yet been identified due to a lack of research on the extant Persian Bible translations.

Further Arabic versions of parts of the Bible were available with the Carmelites in Isfahan. This is suggested by the already mentioned and hitherto unpublished reading-list of

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between 1623 and -26, 1632 and-35, as well as 1641 and -43. On him, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:970-973; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 36-37, no. 59; Stefania Nanni, "Paolo Simone di Gesù Maria," in: *DBI*, 81 (2014): 197-200.

<sup>192</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:162. See also Vicente de San Francisco's report, dated 15 March 1610, as published in Alonso, "El premier viaje": 536-541, here 537.

Della Valle, preserved in Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fols 30r-58v.<sup>193</sup> It was compiled by the Roman traveler after his return to Rome in 1626. The list is included in Della Valle's personal diary and gives evidence of the books that he accessed during his almost twelve-year-long journey through the Middle East as well as the Indo-Persian world.

During his sojourns in Isfahan, Della Valle befriended Juan Tadeo and stayed occasionally with the Carmelite friars to work in the library of the convent.<sup>194</sup> Thus, it is most likely that the traveler accessed the several dozens of books and manuscripts that he enlists for Isfahan in the library of the Carmelites.<sup>195</sup> Among the biblical books indicated in the reading-list, we read of three different versions of the Psalms, namely in the original Hebrew, in an unknown Arabic-Latin translation, and in the Persian version attributed to Juan Tadeo.<sup>196</sup>

It is striking that no Persian translation of the Gospels appears in the list; only an unidentified Arabic version is mentioned.<sup>197</sup> If Juan Tadeo had translated the Gospels into Persian, Della Valle would most certainly have consulted the Persian translation in the library of the Carmelites (and thus included it in his reading-list). Although our Roman traveler does not specify whether he accessed the listed books in printed or in manuscript form, it seems

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<sup>193</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Gianni Venditti, *Archivio Della Valle-Del Bufalo. Inventario*, Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2009, 405; Lee, "A Printing Press," 227-228.

<sup>194</sup> See Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle Il Pellegrino Descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari all'erudito suo amico Mario Schipano divisi in tre parti cioè La Turchia, La Persia e l'India colla Vita e Ritratto dell'Autore*, 2 vols, Brighton: G. Gancia, 1843, 2:226; Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 282; Sonja Brentjes, "The Presence of Ancient Secular and Religious Texts in Pietro della Valle's (1586-1652) Unpublished and Printed Writings," in: Floor and Herzog, *Iran and the World*: 327-345, esp. 339 (an earlier version of the article was published in Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe*, no. III).

<sup>195</sup> For the enlisted books and manuscripts, see Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fols 35r-37r.

<sup>196</sup> See Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fols 35r:28, 39; 35v:20; Lee, "A Printing Press," 108, n. 209.

<sup>197</sup> See Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fol. 35r:29.

reasonable to assume that the Arabic translation of the Gospels was available to him in the printed edition by the Medici Oriental Press. This is indicated by Della Valle's citations and paraphrases from the Gospels, which appear in his Persian vindication of Christianity entitled *Risāla-yi Pītrūs dillā Vāllī bezāda az Rīm-i Pāpā bi-jānīb-i khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad dar ba'ẓi umūr-i dīn-i masīhiyān* ("A Treatise by the Roman Nobleman Pietro della Valle to the Nobleman Mīr Muḥammad on Some Questions of Christianity"), completed in 1621 CE.<sup>198</sup>

In his work, Della Valle references the Gospels from the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate according to the already mentioned Coptic chapter divisions (with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John).<sup>199</sup> In addition, he assumes that the Shī'ī reader of his Persian *Risāla* had access to the same Arabic version of the Gospels. Following a paraphrase from the Gospels referenced according to the Coptic chapters, Della Valle commented as follows: "[...] as you can read yourself in the Gospels, which you know in Arabic [translation]."<sup>200</sup> Thus, it is very likely that Della Valle consulted the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, from which he translated *ad hoc* into Persian when composing his apologetic work. By the beginning of the 1620s, the *editio princeps* of the Gospels in Arabic translation appears to have been a common basis for Christian-Shī'ī exchanges on the Scriptures.

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<sup>198</sup> For details, see below.

<sup>199</sup> For Della Valle's citations and paraphrases from the Gospel of Matthew, Coptic chapters 9 (=Matthew 5:32a), 14 (=Matthew 7:15a, 16a), 59 (=Matthew 19:9), and 78 (=Matthew 24:4-5, 11, 23-24), the Gospel of Mark, Coptic chapters 31 (=Mark 10:11), 42 and 43 (=Mark 13:5-6, 21-22), the Gospel of Luke, Coptic chapters 60 (=Luke 16:18a) and 75 (=Luke 21:8a), and the Gospel of John, Coptic chapter 32 (=John 14:6), see Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7, fols 3r:8-3v:6; 8r:7-9; 9r:7-10; 9v:2-7; 18r:8-10.

<sup>200</sup> In Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7, fol. 3v:3-4, the original Persian reads as follows:

همچون شما به چشم خود میتوانید دید در انجیل که بزبان عربی شما را معروف حاضر است.

Della Valle composed his *Risāla* during his sojourn in Isfahan in early April 1621, following an oral debate in Persian between Catholic representatives and Shīʿī scholars.<sup>201</sup> This ‘Isfahan disputation’ on the Christian rejection of the prophethood of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān, the Muslim accusation of Christian tampering with the Scriptures, and the alleged iconolatry practiced by Christians occurred in the house of the nobleman Mīr Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Vahhābī. Besides the traveler and his host, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Isfahan, Manuel da Madre de Deus (d. 1628), an unidentified *mīrzā*, and an unidentified *mullā* were present.

Similarly, in a letter to the general of the Carmelite Order in Rome dated 14 June 1622, the Spaniard Carmelite and prior of the convent in Isfahan, Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583-1653), described the same Catholic-Shīʿī debate as follows:<sup>202</sup> “The door has been opened to argue and discuss the Law on the occasion of a disputation led by Mr. Pietro della Valle, in which he explained why Muḥammad was no prophet, why the Gospels were not corrupt, and [in which he spoke about] the veneration of images. In response, the most

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<sup>201</sup> For the following, see Gurney, “Pietro della Valle,” 110-111; Brentjes, “Early Modern Western European Travellers,” 407; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 281-284; Próspero del Espíritu Santo, “Relación de la muerte de quatro cristianos persianos nuevamente convertidos a nra. santa fe cathólica,” in: V. Zubizarreta, ed., *Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583-1653). Relaciones y Cartas*, Roma: Teresianum, 2006: 3-25, Chap. 1.1, here 10-12, no. 9.

Christian apologetic writings were often composed following controversies with Shīʿī representatives. On the Dominican Paolo Piromalli (1591-1667) and his Persian *Risāla dar bayān-i iʿtiqādāt va-mazhab-i kalimat Allāh-i ʿisavī* (“A Treatise in Explanation of the Beliefs and the Doctrine of Jesus, the Word of God”), completed in 1651 CE, see D. Halft, “Paolo Piromalli,” in: CMR1900, vol. 10 (forthcoming).

Besides Europeans, indigenous Christians were also involved in debates with Shīʿī scholars. See D. Halft, “Twelver Shīʿī-Armenian Controversies in 12th/18th-Century Iran: Hovhannes Mʾrkuz Juḥayeci and His Persian Works”; idem, “Hovhannes Mʾrkuz Juḥayeci,” in: CMR1900, vol. 10 (both forthcoming).

<sup>202</sup> On him, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:994-998; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 53, no. 122; Víctor Zubizarreta, ed., *Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583-1653). Relaciones y Cartas*, Roma: Teresianum, 2006, esp. xiii-xl.

learned *mullās* came together, wrote a book, and sent [it] to us so that we may respond.”<sup>203</sup>

Della Valle thus initiated a debate that was followed by the composition of Shīʿī and Catholic refutations and counter-refutations, respectively.

The Shīʿī clergy refuted Della Valle’s *Risāla* by composing a Persian polemical work that is entitled *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī dar radd-i shubha-yi naṣrānī* (“The Divine Rays in Refutation of Christian Error”), dated to 1031 AH (=1621). It was authored by the well-known Shīʿī philosopher and theologian Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī.<sup>204</sup> Although Della Valle was a Catholic layman, ʿAlavī refers to him in his refutation as “one of the priests and monks of the Franks” (Pers. *baʿẓī az qissīsān va-rahbānān-i farangiyān*).<sup>205</sup> In reaction to the emerging Catholic-Shīʿī controversy, Próspero del Espiritu Santo recommended to his superior in Rome to send a fair amount of apologetic Christian works in Arabic and Persian, viz. 4,000 printed copies, to Isfahan for the support of the Carmelite friars.<sup>206</sup> Próspero’s suggestion, however, remained unimplemented.

Della Valle’s *Risāla* that is addressed to ʿAbd al-Vahhābī and other Shīʿī interlocutors in Isfahan is extant in two undated manuscripts, namely Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7, 18 fols (own foliation), and Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 8/1, fols 1v-41v (own foliation; one page of each

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<sup>203</sup> “Hase abierto la puerta para disputar y tratar de la Ley con ocasión de un discurso que el señor Pietro della Valle hizo, en que decia cómo Mahoma no era profeta, y cómo el Evangelio no estaba corrompido, y de las adoraciones de las imágenes. Y para responder, se juntaron los más doctos mullahs, hicieron un libro, y nos enviaron a nosotros, para que respondemos” (Florencio del Niño Jesús, *En Persia [1608-1624]*, 120).

<sup>204</sup> See Aḥmad ʿAlavī, “*Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*,” in: *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i Qurʾān-i karīm*, vol. 2, ed. Ḥ. Saʿīd, [Tih-rān]: Ganjīna-yi Qurʾān-i Karīm, 1406/[1985-86]: 20-183. For a discussion of the work, its manuscript sources, and the edition, see below, Chapter 3.2, as well as Appendix 1.

<sup>205</sup> See *ibid.*, 20:9-10.

<sup>206</sup> See Florencio del Niño Jesús, *En Persia (1608-1624)*, 120-121.



folio is blank).<sup>207</sup> After Della Valle's return to Rome, the author translated the Persian work into Latin under the title *Epistola Petri a Valle peregrini patricii romani ad nobilem persam Mir Muhammed Abd' el Vehabi Sphahanensem de quibusdam controversiis fidei inter Christianos et Muhammedanos*. In what appears to be a unique copy of the Latin translation, Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. lat. 545, fols 45r-58v, the unfinished translation is dated in the introduction "tertio Idus Aprilis MDCXXXIII [=11 April 1633]."<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 8/1 was presumably directly copied from Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7. For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 32-33; D. Halft, "Pietro della Valle, *Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm-i Pāpā bi-jānib-i khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad dar ba'zi umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyān*," in: CMR1900, vol. 10 (forthcoming).

Catherina Wenzel is currently preparing an edition and German translation of Della Valle's Persian vindication of Christianity.

<sup>208</sup> Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. lat. 545 comprises a front page and a dedication to the Discalced Carmelites of Isfahan in Latin, as well as an incomplete Latin translation of the introduction, the first two and the opening section of the third chapter of the Persian *Risāla*. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Lorenzo Pérez Martínez, "Los fondos lulianos existentes en las bibliotecas de Roma," *Anthologica Annua* 8 (1960): 333-480, here 401, no. 67/2; Paola Orsatti, "Uno scritto ritrovato di Pietro Della Valle e la polemica religiosa nella storia degli studi sul persiano," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 64 (1992): 267-274.

Although the *imprimatur* for the Latin translation was granted by the ecclesiastical authorities (see Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 52/8, fols 320r-323v, here 320v), the work has not been published. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Venditti, *Archivio Della Valle-Del Bufalo*, 144; Orsatti, "Uno scritto ritrovato," 269-270 (I thank Angelo M. Piemontese for drawing my attention to the Latin translation of Della Valle's *Risāla*).

## 2.2 The Library of the Discalced Carmelites

In addition to the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and the previously mentioned three versions of the Psalms – in the original Hebrew, in an unknown Arabic-Latin translation, and in the Persian translation attributed to Juan Tadeo – Della Valle had an Arabic version of the Pentateuch at his disposal in Isfahan, which still awaits identification. Addressed to the Shī‘ī reader of his Persian *Risāla*, the Roman traveler states as follows: “[...] as you can read in chapter twenty-three of the fourth book of the Pentateuch, viz. the book of Numbers, which I have in Arabic in Isfahan.”<sup>209</sup> Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Della Valle also had access to an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch in the library of the Carmelites.

Besides the Scriptures, various works on religious subjects (biblical commentary, liturgy, devotion, theology, canon law) and also books in secular fields (linguistics, history, sciences, medicine) were imported by the Carmelites and other missionaries into Persia in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>210</sup> By 1642, the number of items preserved in the library

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<sup>209</sup> In Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7, fol. 15r:7-10, the original Persian reads as follows:

چون شما میتوانید دیدن در فصل بیست و سیوم السفر الرابع من التوراة یعنی سفر العدد از تورات که بزبان عربی نزد من در اصفهان حاضر است.

<sup>210</sup> For the history of the Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, Jesuits, and Dominicans in Persia, see Florencio del Niño Jesús, *La Orden de Santa Teresa*, 92-97; Carlos Alonso, “El convento agustiniano de Ispahán durante el período 1621-1671,” *Analecta Augustiniana* 36 (1973): 247-308; *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*; Francis Richard, “Carmelites in Persia,” in: *EIr*, 4 (1990): 832-834; idem, “Capuchins in Persia,” in: *EIr*, 4 (1990): 786-788; Rudi Matthee, “Jesuits in Safavid Persia,” in: *EIr*, 14 (2008): 634-638; idem, “Poverty and Perseverance: The Jesuit Mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in Late Safavid Iran,” *al-Qanṭara* 36 (2015): 463-501; Ambrosius Eszer, “Sebastianus Knab O.P. Erzbischof von Naxījewan (1682-1690): Neue Forschungen zu seinem Leben,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 43 (1973): 215-286; Flannery, *The Mission*.

of the Carmelites had already increased to “several hundred books” (French *plusieurs centaines d’ouvrages*), some of which were – besides Latin, Greek, and Italian – in Arabic, Armenian, Turkish, and Persian.<sup>211</sup> The books were held by the French Carmelite Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse (1597-1669), Bishop of Babylon and Vicar Apostolic of Isfahan, who sojourned in Isfahan for two years, from July 1640 to March 1642.<sup>212</sup>

Before his departure, Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse entrusted the cathedral, the bishop’s house, and his library to the Portuguese Augustinians.<sup>213</sup> Among the printed books were the “Biblia Sacra” (probably the Old Testament), the Psalms in a bilingual Arabic-Latin translation, the Gospels in Arabic, and the *Alphabetum arabicum*.<sup>214</sup> The two last-mentioned books were presumably copies of the previously mentioned editions by the Medici Oriental Press. The inventory of the books also lists vindications of Christianity, both in Arabic and Latin, which were published by the *Propaganda Fide* in the 1630s, in particular Filippo Guadagnoli’s *Apologia pro christiana religione* (“Apologia of the Christian Religion”) and the *Antitheses fidei* (“Antitheses of Faith”).<sup>215</sup>

Some vestiges of the ‘missionary libraries’ of the former convents in Isfahan are held today by the Roman Catholic diocese in Tehran.<sup>216</sup> The books that are still extant, all of which are in Latin, French, Italian, and Portuguese, were printed in Europe between the sixteenth

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<sup>211</sup> Léon Mirot, “Le séjour du Père Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse en Perse (1640-1642),” *Études carmélitaines, mystiques et missionnaires* 18 (1933): 213-236, here 229. For an inventory of the books, see the appendix on 232-236.

<sup>212</sup> On him, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:818-824.

<sup>213</sup> See Mirot, “Le séjour du Père Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse,” 229.

<sup>214</sup> See *ibid.*, 232, 236.

<sup>215</sup> For details on these books, see below, Chapter 3.3.

<sup>216</sup> For a preliminary inventory of the books, see Dominique Carnoy-Torabi, “The Forgotten Library of the Isfahan Missionaries,” *Oriente* [Fundação Oriente, Lisbon] 19 (2008): 94-105. A complete inventory is intended to be published by Carnoy-Torabi.

and eighteenth century.<sup>217</sup> Works such as the ‘classical handbook’ for missionaries entitled *De procuranda salute omnium gentium, schismaticorum, haeticorum, Iudaeorum, Sarracenorum, caeterorumque infidelium* (“On the Pro-curing of Salvation of All Nations, the Schismatics, Heretics, Jews, Saracens, and Other Infidels”), completed in 1613 CE by the Spaniard Carmelite Tomás de Jesús (1564-1627), served the friars to prepare for their missionary activities.<sup>218</sup>

The influence of the encounter between Catholics and Shī‘ī Muslims was, of course, reciprocal. Imāmī scholars also presented manuscripts of Persian works to the Carmelites, which entered the library of the convent in Isfahan (and are partly still extant in Iran). This is suggested by a manuscript copy of ‘Alavī’s second major anti-Christian work in Persian entitled *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ dar tajliya va-taṣfiya-yi Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā* (“The Polisher of Purity to Burnish and Make Clear ‘The Mirror Showing the Truth’”).<sup>219</sup> On the front page of Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, we read the following undated *ex-libris* of the Carmelite convent in Isfahan: “Ex libris conuentus Hispahensis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum.”<sup>220</sup>

This example clearly shows that manuscripts in non-European languages were part of the Carmelite library in Isfahan, but were removed sometime, probably after the convent was

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<sup>217</sup> No Persian, Arabic, or Turkish book is among the extant vestiges of the former ‘missionary libraries’.

<sup>218</sup> For details, see Lee, “A Printing Press,” 148-201. The work also appears in Della Valle’s reading-list for Isfahan, as preserved in Vatican, ASV, MS Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, fol. 35r:15-17. See also Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 46-47, no. 97; Lee, “A Printing Press,” 219.

<sup>219</sup> See Aḥmad ‘Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ dar naqd-i kalām-i masīḥiyyat*, ed. Ḥ. N. Iṣfahānī, Qum: Amīr, 1415/1373/[1994]. For a discussion of the work, its manuscript sources, and the edition, see below, Chapter 3.2, as well as Appendix 2.

<sup>220</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 1r. Several emendations, additions, and corrections in the author’s hand suggest that the manuscript was copied and, perhaps, presented to the Carmelites during ‘Alavī’s lifetime. For a photograph of the *ex-libris*, see below, Appendix 2, Figure 9.

abandoned in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>221</sup> After the missionaries had left Isfahan, local Armenians were in charge of the remaining books.<sup>222</sup> Thus, any future attempt to reconstruct the Carmelite library should take into account the scattering of the former manuscripts in Perso-Arabic script throughout the libraries in Iran, but also in Europe.<sup>223</sup> An identification of the printed books and manuscripts held by this important library would certainly extend our knowledge of the cultural interactions between Imāmī scholars and Catholic missionaries in Isfahan in the seventeenth century.

For the missionaries in Iran, the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation was an essential medium to proclaim Christian faith. The ready availability and accessibility of the Gospels stimulated the cross-cultural exchanges and provoked several Shī'ī responses to Christianity composed in Persian and Arabic. That Imāmī scholars were acquainted with the Gospels through the Roman Arabic Vulgate is confirmed by these extant polemical works. As it is argued here, the Shī'ī authors had access to the Medici edition of the Gospels either in the original Arabic or in a Persian translation made from the Arabic *Vorlage* by Shī'ī co-religionists.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> In her preliminary inventory of the extant printed books of the 'missionary libraries', Carnoy-Torabi did not consider either the possibility that manuscripts were originally part of the collections, or that books and manuscripts written in non-European languages could have been taken out. See her "The Forgotten Library," 102-103 (English version).

<sup>222</sup> See *ibid.*, 98 (English version).

<sup>223</sup> An *ex-libris* of the Carmelite convent in Isfahan also appears on the fly-leaf of Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 57, 369 fols, dated 1043 AH (=1633-34) [not seen by me]. See Levi della Vida, *George Strachan*, 101. The codex comprises several sermons in Persian by the Portuguese Carmelite Baltasar di Santa Maria (1590-1662). For descriptions of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 82-83; Ambrosius a Sancta Teresia, *Bio-bibliographia missionaria*, 64-65, no. 171. On the history of the Persian manuscript collection held by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, see Piemontese, "Vaticani persiani," 1:644.

<sup>224</sup> For details, see below, Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Since the 1970s, when Western scholars turned their attention to Shīʿī refutations of Christianity, they noted that the Gospels were often referenced according to an arrangement of sections that differs from the chapters of the Vulgata.<sup>225</sup> However, scholars were unable to identify these sections as the previously mentioned Coptic chapter divisions, with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John. Based on his research on ʿAlavī’s anti-Christian works in Persian, the French Iranologist Henry Corbin (1903-78) stated as follows:

He [Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī] has [...] a perfect knowledge of the canonical Gospels. He extensively quotes from them in Persian, unfortunately without identifying the version on which he draws. The numbering of the chapters differs from the one of the canonical editions.<sup>226</sup>

A similar observation of an unfamiliar structure of the Gospels was made by Francis Richard with regard to the citations included in the Arabic tract *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* (“Triumph of Truth”), completed in ca. 1074 AH (=1663-64) by the Shīʿī scholar Ṣāḥīb al-Dīn Tafrishī (d. before 1114/1702).<sup>227</sup> In 1980, Richard remarked as follows:

Tafrishī quotes from the Gospels in Arabic, but according to a numbering of chapters (*faṣl*) that is different from ours. We do not know which translation he accessed. Moreover, in

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<sup>225</sup> See Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 295.

<sup>226</sup> “Il a [...] une parfaite connaissance des Évangiles canoniques. Il les cite abondamment en persan, malheureusement sans dire sur quelle version il se fonde; la numérotation des chapitres diffère de celle des éditions canoniques” (Henry Corbin, “Annuaire 1976-1977. Shiʿisme et christianisme à Ispahan au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: l’oeuvre de Sayyed Ahmad ʿAlavī Ispahānī,” in: *Itinéraire d’un enseignement: résumé des conférences à l’École pratique des hautes études [Section des sciences religieuses] 1955-1979*, Téhéran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1993: 169-173, here 169).

<sup>227</sup> For a discussion of the work, its manuscripts, and recensions, see below, Chapter 4.3, as well as Appendix 3.

*Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ* [...], Sayyid Aḥmad [ʿAlavī] also numbers the chapters of the Gospels in an unaccustomed way.<sup>228</sup>

Furthermore, it has been noted that the late seventeenth-century translation of the four Gospels from the Arabic into Persian by Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (d. 1127/1715), the first “chief of religious scholars” (Pers. *mullā-bāshī*), is structured differently from the Vulgata.<sup>229</sup> The translation had been commissioned by the last Safavid ruler Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105/1694-1135/1722, d. 1140/1727) and was presented to him in 1697 CE. Khātūnābādī’s apparent use of the Coptic chapter divisions suggests that he relied on the Roman Arabic Vulgate printed by the Medici Oriental Press.

In the following chapters, it will be shown that the above-mentioned Shīʿī authors acquainted themselves with the Gospels through the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, on which they relied for the purpose of paraphrasing, quoting from, and translating the Scriptures. The widespread distribution of this medieval Christian Arabic translation in the Persian-speaking orbit during the seventeenth century is only now becoming apparent. Its Shīʿī reception was a crucial moment in Muslim-Christian relations in Iran, which transcended the cultural, linguistic, and religious boundaries between Europe, the Middle East, and the Indo-Persian world.

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<sup>228</sup> “Tafreši cite, en arabe, les Evangiles, mais avec une numérotation des chapîtres (*faṣl*) différente de la nôtre. On ne sait quelle traduction il avait entre les mains; par ailleurs, dans le *Mesqal-e Safāʾ* [...], Seyyed Ahmad donne aussi aux chapîtres de l’Evangile une numérotation inaccoutumée” (Francis Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite au ‘grand siècle’. Autour de quelques documents concernant les Missions catholiques au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle,” *Euntes docete* 33 (1980): 339-403, here 364, n. 76).

<sup>229</sup> See Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa: Tarjama, taʿlīqāt va tauzīhāt*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. R. Jaʿfariyān, Tihārān: Nuqṭa, 1384/[2005], 73 (introduction); Franco Ometto, “Khatun Abadi: The Ayatollah Who Translated the Gospels,” *Islamochristiana* 28 (2002): 55-72, esp. 65. For a discussion of Khātūnābādī’s translation, its manuscript sources, and edition, see below, Chapter 5.1, as well as Appendix 4.

## PART TWO

### **Reading the Gospels in Favor of Imāmī Shī'ism: The Muslim Reception of the Roman Arabic Vulgate**

The interplay between an increasing interest in biblical manuscripts in Arabic (and other Middle Eastern vernaculars) in the post-humanist era, the emergence of a European printing culture in Arabic, and a strong Catholic missionary movement, made the Roman Arabic Vulgate widely known and accessible to Imāmī audiences in Iran. The Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation had a significant influence on the intellectual exchanges between Coptic Egypt, Renaissance Rome, and Safavid Persia. As a common source for Shī'ī-Catholic debates and disputations on the Gospels, this particular edition was unparalleled in the reception history of Arabic Bible translations in the pre-modern Persian world.

The dissemination of printed copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Iran shaped a new framework of the Muslim study of the Gospels. As we will see in the following chapters, Shī'ī scholars had access to this Arabic version not only in Isfahan, but also on the periphery of the Safavid Empire, in places such as the Georgian borderlands. However, the Shī'ī savants (and, perhaps, the missionaries, too) were not aware that the Medici edition was based on a medieval Christian Arabic version of the Gospels. They would probably have thought of the included translation as a failed attempt by a missionary who did not fully master the Arabic language. To the Shī'ī scholars, Arabic was the language of the Qur'ān and the prophetic tradition. It was beyond their expectation that a newly printed book would contain an ancient



text of Coptic provenance, rather than a translation by a contemporary missionary. Shī'ī savants were unaware of the measure by which a Christian Arabic tone differed substantially from the Arabic of the Muslim Scriptures.

When the Shī'ī authors had access to the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, they relied extensively on the printed text as a source for studying, comparing, and refuting the Gospels in a relatively elaborate form. The first publication of a continuous translation of the four Gospels in a language used by Shī'īs enabled scholars to draw upon a broader array of verses than the repertoire commonly invoked by Muslim polemicists. As a result, they made extensive use of biblical exegesis as an argumentative strategy against Christianity. The scholars were particularly interested in unveiling alleged inconsistencies between verses or passages of the different Gospels. Shī'ī Muslim interpretation of the Scriptures became an inherent part of the newly emerging Persian polemical literature. Thus, it is no exaggeration to refer to the *editio princeps* of the Gospels in the Arabic language, dating from 1590/91, as a turning point in the Imāmī perception of the Bible.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> In 1616, two and a half decades after the publication of the Medici edition, another edition of the Arabic Vulgate went to press in Leiden. The printing was based upon Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 217, 262 fols, presumably dating from the fifteenth century [not seen by me]. The manuscript was included in the *editio princeps* of the entire New Testament in Arabic, initiated and supervised by the linguist and Calvinist theologian Thomas Erpenius (van Erpe, 1584-1624). However, since there was no Dutch Protestant mission to Isfahan, there are no indications that Erpenius's printed edition found its way to Shī'ī scholars of the seventeenth century. In the early nineteenth century, a printed copy of Erpenius's New Testament in Arabic was in the possession of Henry Martyn who showed it to scholars in India and Iran (see his *Journals and letters [...]*, 2 vols, ed. S. Wilberforce, London: Seeley and Burnside, 1837, 2:356, no. 25, 368). For the edition, see *al-ʿAhd al-jadīd li-Rabbinā Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ* (= *Novum D. N. Iesu Christi Testamentum Arabicum: Ex Bibliotheca Leidensi*), Leidae: Typogr. Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, 1616. For descriptions of this manuscript and the edition, see GCAL, 1:159-160; Rijk Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis: A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in Europe*, vol. 1: Sixteenth Century, Leiden: Brill, 1976, [69], no. 79; Witkam, *Inventory*, 1:96.

## Chapter 3: Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650): Philosopher and Polemicist against Christianity in Isfahan

In the late sixteenth century, when Shāh ʿAbbās I made Isfahan his new capital, the city became the uncontested political, commercial, and cultural center in the Safavid Empire. Important contributions to the flourishing intellectual life were made by Shīʿī theologians and jurists, who had migrated to Iran from Jabal ʿĀmil in Ottoman Syria.<sup>231</sup> They actively stimulated the philosophical and theological discussions in the religious schools (Arab. *madrāsas*) of the city and trained a new generation of scholars, with whom they were often related by kinship. These immigrant savants and their descendants contributed to the elaboration of a distinct Imāmī scholarly tradition in Safavid Persia, both in philosophy (Arab. *falsafā*) and theology (Arab. *kalām*).<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> For details, see Andrew J. Newman, “The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safavid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to ʿAlī al-Karakī and Safavid Shiism,” *Die Welt des Islams* 33 (1993): 66-112; Devin J. Stewart, “Notes on the Migration of ʿĀmilī Scholars to Safavid Iran,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 81-103; Rula J. Abisaab, “The ʿUlama of Jabal ʿĀmil in Safavid Iran, 1501-1736: Marginality, Migration and Social Change,” *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994): 103-122; eadem, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, London: Tauris, 2004, esp. 7-30; eadem, “Jabal ʿĀmel, Shiʿite Ulama of,” in: *EIr*, 14 (2007): 305-309.

<sup>232</sup> This was prepared by the work of Shīʿī scholars of previous centuries. See Sabine Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ḡumhūr al-Aḥsāʿī (um 838/1434-35 – nach 906/1501)*, Leiden: Brill, 2000; Gerhard Endress, “Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahan,” *Oriens* 36 (2001): 10-58; Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī and His Writings*, Leiden: Brill, 2011; idem and Sabine Schmidtke, “An Eastern Renaissance? Greek Philosophy under the Safavids (16th-18th centuries AD),” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015): 248-290; Mathieu Terrier, “La représentation

Among the descendants of °Āmilī families was Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-°Ābidīn ibn °Abd Allāh °Alavī °Āmilī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650), better known as Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī.<sup>233</sup> His father, Zayn al-°Ābidīn, had studied with the prominent Imāmī jurist °Alī ibn °Abd al-°Ālī al-Karakī (“al-Muḥaqqiq al-thānī,” d. 940/1533) from Karak-Nūḥ in al-Biqāc.<sup>234</sup> Born and raised in Isfahan in the late sixteenth century, °Alavī became the disciple of the renowned Shīcī savants Bahā° al-Dīn al-°Āmilī (“Shaykh Bahā°ī,” d. 1030/1621) and Muḥammad Bāqir Astarābādī (“Mīr Dāmād,” d. 1041/1631), who was °Alavī’s cousin and

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de la sagesse grecque comme discours et mode de vie chez les philosophes šīcītes de l’Iran safavide (XI°/XVII° siècle),” *Studia graeco-arabica* 5 (2015): 299-320.

<sup>233</sup> On him, see Muḥammad Ḥurr al-°Āmilī, *Amal al-āmīl*, 2 vols, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, Baghdād: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1965-66, 1:33, no. 20; °Abd al-Nabī Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm Amal al-āmīl*, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar°ashī, 1407/[1986-87], 62-63, no. 14; °Abd Allāh Afandī, *Riyāq al-°ulamā° wa-ḥiyāq al-fuḍalā°*, 7 vols, ed. A. Ḥusaynī, Qum: al-Khayyām, 1401/[1981], 1:39; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt a°lām al-shīcā: al-qarn al-ḥādī °ashar*, ed. °A. N. Munzawī, Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-°Arabī, 1395/[1975], 27-30; Muḥsin Amīn, *A°yān al-shīcā*, 11 vols, ed. Ḥ. Amīn, Bayrūt: Dār al-Ta°āruf, 1403/[1983], 2:593-594; Ḥasan Amīn, *Mustadrakāt A°yān al-shīcā*, 10 vols, Bayrūt: Dār al-Ta°āruf, 1987, 9:11; Muḥammad °Alī Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i kitābkhānahā-yi Iṣfahān*, vol. 1, Iṣfahān: Ḥabl al-Matīn, 1382/1341/[1962], 169-181, no. 43 (slightly modified repr. in idem, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i Iṣfahān: dū hizār nuskhā-yi °arabī va fārsī*, 2 vols, Qum: Mu°assasa-yi Farhangī-i Muṭāla°ātī l-Zahrā°, 1386-89/[2007-10], 2:427-441, no. 785); Henry Corbin, “Aḥmad °Alavī,” in: EIr, 1 (1984): 644-646 (Corbin’s assumptions, however, need to be critically assessed; see Halft, “Schīitische Polemik,” 273-274, n. 3; Sajjad H. Rizvi, “Isfahan School of Philosophy,” in: EIr, 14 [2007]: 119-125); Rasūl Ja°fariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah dar °arsa-yi dīn, farhang va siyāsāt*, 3 vols, Qum: Pizhūhishkada-yi Ḥawzah va Dānishgāh, 1379/[2000-01], 3:972-980; Ḥāmid Nājī Iṣfahānī, “Bargī az munāzarahā-yi Islām va Masīḥīyat dar rūzgār-i Ṣafaviyyān dar Iṣfahān,” in: M. Dihqān Nizhād, ed., *Majmū°a-yi maqālāt-i Hamāyish-i Iṣfahān va Ṣafaviyyah, 6-7 Isfand māh 1380*, Iṣfahān: Dānishgāh-i Iṣfahān, 1382/[2003-04]: 475-494 (I thank Heidar Eyvazi for making the article available to me); Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, 79-81; D. Halft, “Sayyed Aḥmad b. Zayn al-°Ābedīn °Alavī °Āmelī,” in: CMR1900, vol. 10 (forthcoming).

<sup>234</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 90. Some Shīcī biographical works recount that Zayn al-°Ābidīn was al-Karakī’s son-in-law (see Dhari°a, 18:366, no. 490; Āghā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a°lām al-shīcā*, 237; Ḥasan Ṣadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmīl*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥusaynī, Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar°ashī, 1406/[1985-86], 225, no. 191). However, since al-Karakī died in 1533, the assumption that his daughter gave birth to °Alavī seems to be incompatible with the lifetime of our scholar (I am indebted to Reza Pourjavady for bringing this to my attention). On al-Karakī, see Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, esp. 15-20; eadem, “Karaki, Nur-al-Din Abu’l-Ḥasan °Ali b. Ḥosayn b. °Abd-al-°Ālī,” in: EIr, 15 (2010): 544-547.

father-in-law.<sup>235</sup> Both teachers were patronized by the Safavid court and held influential religious positions, such as that of the capital's "chief jurisconsult" (Arab. *shaykh al-Islām*).

Shaykh Bahā'ī and Mīr Dāmād issued °Alavī three 'licenses to transmit' (Arab. *ijāzāt al-rīwāya*), which authorized their pupil to transmit the contents of various works on logic, philosophy, *kalām*, qur'ānic exegesis, prophetic tradition (Arab. *ḥadīth*), and jurisprudence (Arab. *fiqh*) to the next generation of students.<sup>236</sup> In turn, °Alavī issued a 'license to transmit' to his son °Abd al-Ḥasīb (d. 1121/1709), who was a "prayer leader" (Pers. *pīsh-namāz*) in Isfahan.<sup>237</sup> °Abd al-Ḥasīb is the author of several scholarly works, among them *Qawā'id al-salāṭīn* ("The Principles for Rulers") and *°Arsh al-īqān fī sharḥ Taqwīm al-īmān* ("The Throne of Certainty Regarding the Commentary on 'The Rectification of the Faith'"), which have recently been published.<sup>238</sup> °Alavī also issued a license to a certain Sayyid Muḥammad

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<sup>235</sup> See Etan Kohlberg, "Bahā'-al-Dīn °Amelī, Shaikh Moḥammad b. Ḥosayn Bahā'ī," in: EIr, 3 (1988): 429-430; Andrew J. Newman, "Dāmād, Mīr(-e), Sayyed Moḥammad Bāqer," in: EIr, 6 (1993): 623-626; Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, 59-61, 71-72.

<sup>236</sup> On the importance of 'licenses to transmit' for the reconstruction of scholarly networks, see Sabine Schmidtke, "The *ijāza* from °Abd Allāh b. Šāliḥ al-Samāhījī to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭīfī: A Source for the Twelver Shi'ī Scholarly Tradition of Baḥrayn," in: F. Daftary and J. W. Meri, eds, *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, London: Tauris, 2003: 64-85, no. 4; eadem, "Forms and Functions of 'Licences to Transmit' (*Ijāzas*) in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century-Iran: °Abd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī al-Tustarī's (1112-73/1701-59) *Ijāza kabīra*," in: G. Krämer and S. Schmidtke, eds, *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, Leiden: Brill, 2006 (repr. Leiden: Brill, 2014): 95-127.

<sup>237</sup> See Ṣadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, ed. Ḥusaynī, 253-254, no. 217; Āghā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lam al-shī'a*, 313; Aḥmad °Alavī, *al-Ḥāshiyā °alā uṣūl al-Kāfi*, ed. Ṣ. Ḥusaynī Ishkavarī, Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1385/1427/[2006], 22-23; Muḥammad °Abd al-Ḥasīb °Alavī, *Qawā'id al-salāṭīn*, ed. R. Ja'fariyān, Tihārān: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1384/[2005], 13-15.

<sup>238</sup> See M. °A. al-Ḥ. °Alavī, *Qawā'id al-salāṭīn*, 15-19; idem, *°Arsh al-īqān fī sharḥ Taqwīm al-īmān*, ed. °A. Awjabī and A. Ṣaqafiyān, Tihārān: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1390/[2011], 38-40 (introduction). For a list of °Abd al-Ḥasīb's works, see Aḥmad °Alavī, *Laṭā'if-i ḡhaybiyya: āyāt al-°aqā'id*, ed. J. al-D. Mīr Dāmādī, [Tihārān]: Ḥaydarī, 1396/[1976], 19-20 (introduction).

Ḥusaynī, in which he confirms that his student studied with him, *inter alia*, his Arabic super-commentary *Riyāḍ al-quḍs wa-ḥaḏīrat al-uns*.<sup>239</sup>

The ‘license to transmit’ issued to °Alavī by Shaykh Bahā’ī is dated to Rabī’ II 1018 AH (=July-August 1609).<sup>240</sup> The issuer authorized °Alavī to transmit the contents of his works, some of which are explicitly mentioned, namely *al-°Urwa al-wuṭṭhā* (“The Firm Tie”), *al-Ḥabl al-matīn fī iḥkām aḥkām al-dīn* (“The Firm Cord Regarding the Perfection of the Judgments of Faith,” completed in 1007/1598-99), *Kitāb al-arba°in* (“Book on the Forty [Ḥadīth]”), *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ* (“The Key to Salvation,” completed in 1015/1606-07), *al-Risāla al-ithnā °ashariyya* (“Treatise on the Twelver Shī’a”), *Sharḥ al-°aḥīfa al-kāmila* (“Commentary on the Complete *°aḥīfa*”), and *Zubdat al-uṣūl* (“The Essence of the Principles [of Jurisprudence]”).

The other two ‘licenses to transmit’ issued to °Alavī by Mīr Dāmād are dated to mid-Jumāda I 1017 AH (=end of August 1608) and 1019 (=1610-11).<sup>241</sup> They indicate that °Alavī studied with his teacher the metaphysics of Ibn Sīnā’s (“Avicenna,” d. 427/1037) magnum opus *al-Shifā°* (“The Cure”) as well as his last work *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīḥāt* (“Pointers and Reminders”). Among Mīr Dāmād’s own writings, °Alavī read *al-Ufuq al-mubīn* (“The Clear Horizon”), *al-°Imāḏāt wa-l-sharīqāt* (“Glances and Radiance”), and *al-Taqḏīsāt* (“Sanctifications”). He also studied with Mīr Dāmād parts of the Qur’ān commentary *al-Kashshāf °an ḥaqā°iq al-tanzīl* (“Unveiler of the Real Meanings of the Revelation”) of Abū l-

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<sup>239</sup> For a facsim. of the license, see °Alavī, *Laṭā°if-i ḡhaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 18 (introduction). For °Alavī’s *Riyāḍ al-quḍs*, see below.

<sup>240</sup> See Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār: al-jāmi°a li-durar akhbār al-a°imma al-aḥḥār*, ed. M. B. Bihbūdī, 110 vols, Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā° al-Turāth al-°Arabī, 1403/1983, 109:157, no. 77 (repr., for instance, in Amīn, *A°yān al-shī’a*, 2:594).

<sup>241</sup> See Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 109:152-156, nos 75-76 (repr. in Amīn, *A°yān al-shī’a*, 2:593-594).

Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1140) and °Allāma al-Ḥillī's (d. 726/1325) *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* ("The Basis of Judgments Concerning What is Permitted and What is Forbidden").

Moreover, Mīr Dāmād introduced °Alavī to the four canonical Shī'ī *ḥadīth* collections, known as 'the four books' (Arab. *al-kutub al-arba'a*), namely Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī's (d. 328 or -29/939 or -40) *al-Kāfī fī 'ilm al-dīn* ("The Sufficient in the Science of Religion"), Ibn Bābawayh's ("Shaykh al-Ṣadūq," d. 381/991) *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh* ("He Who has no Jurist with Him"), as well as *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* ("The Rectification of Judgments") and *al-Istibṣār fī mā ukhtulifa fī-hi min al-Akḥbār* ("Consideration of those Traditions which are Disputed"), both compiled by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ("Shaykh al-ṭā'ifa," d. 460/1067).<sup>242</sup> In an undated report, Mīr Dāmād presents the following chain of transmission, in which he identifies the transmitters of the four *ḥadīth* collections, going back to the compilers of the tenth and eleventh centuries:

[Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī] ← Mīr Dāmād ← Shaykh Bahā'ī's father Ḥusayn ibn °Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī al-°Āmilī (d. 984/1576) ← Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-Karakī ← Zayn al-Dīn ibn °Alī al-°Āmilī ("al-Shahīd al-thānī," d. 966/1559) ← °Alī ibn °Abd al-°Ālī al-°Āmilī al-Maysī ← Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn Mu'adhhdhīn ← Ḍiyā' al-Dīn °Alī ← his father Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Makkī ("al-Shahīd al-awwal," d. 786/1384) ← Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ("Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," d. 771/1370) ← his father Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī ("al-°Allāma al-Ḥillī") ← Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Ja'far ibn al-Ḥasan ("al-Muḥaqqiq al-awwal," d. 676/1277) ← Abū °Alī Fakhkhār ibn Ma'add al-Mūsawī ← Abū l-Faḍl Shādhān ibn Jibra'īl al-Qummī ← °Imād al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī ← Abū °Alī l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ("al-Mufīd al-thānī") ← his father Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ← Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ("al-

<sup>242</sup> See Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 109:158, no. 28. On the Shī'ī *ḥadīth* collections, see Ahmad Kazemi-Moussavi, "Hadith ii. In Shi'ism," in: EIr, 11 (2001): 447-449.

Shaykh al-Mufīd,” d. 413/1022) ← a) Ibn Bābawayh; b) Abū l-Qāsim Jaʿfar ibn Qūluwayh ← al-Kulaynī.<sup>243</sup>

ʿAlavī produced about fifty scholarly works in Arabic and Persian in all fields of the rationalist religious sciences (Arab. *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya*) as well as the traditional religious sciences (Arab. *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya*).<sup>244</sup> Most of these works are still unexplored. Like other Shīʿī thinkers of his time, ʿAlavī wrote several commentaries on the works of Ibn Sīnā, the most celebrated philosopher in the Muslim world. What appears to be ʿAlavī’s earliest known writing, his Arabic glosses (Arab. *taʿlīqāt*) on Ibn Sīnā’s treatise on metaphysics (Arab. *ilāhiyyāt*) entitled *al-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād* (“Provenance and Destination”), is extant in a manuscript dated to 1005 AH (=1597).<sup>245</sup> Another, though undated, copy of the same glosses, Tehran, Majlis, MS 1284/2, fols 11r-38v, is penned entirely in ʿAlavī’s hand and signed by him.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 109:158-159, no. 28.

<sup>244</sup> For the most comprehensive, though still incomplete, reference works and introductions to editions listing numerous writings of ʿAlavī, see Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 173-181; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 97-102; idem, *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Qabasāt: A Commentary on Mīr Dāmād’s K. al-Qabasāt*, ed. Ḥ. N. Iṣfahānī, bā muqaddima-yi fārsī va ingilīsī M. Muḥaqqiq, Tihārān: Danishgāh-i Tihārān, Muʾassasa-yi Muṭālaʿāt-i Islāmī, Daftar-i Nashr-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1376/1997, 67-72; Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād, *Taqwīm al-īmān*, ed. ʿA. Awjabī, Tihārān: Danishgāh-i Tihārān, Muʾassasa-yi Muṭālaʿāt-i Islāmī, Daftar-i Nashr-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1376/1998, 145-149; *Mawsūʿat muʾallifī l-Imāmiyya*, vol. 1-, ed. Majmaʿ al-Fikr al-Islāmī, Qism al-Mawsūʿa, Qum: Majmaʿ al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1420-/1999-2000-, 2:428-434; ʿAlavī, *al-Ḥāshiyā*, ed. Ḥusaynī Ishkavarī, 10-20.

<sup>245</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 384, 178 fols [not seen by me]. For descriptions of this manuscript, see ʿAlī A. Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī*, Mashhad: Muʾassasa-yi Chāp va Intishārāt-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī, <sup>2</sup>1365-/1987-, 4:51; Muḥammad Ā. Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʾī-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī*, Mashhad: Muʾassasa-yi Chāp va Intishārāt-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī, 1369/1990, 131; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 171; DINĀ, 3:52, no. 62336; FANKHĀ, 8:440, no. 1/1. On the work, see Dharrīʿa, 4:224-225, no. 1124.

<sup>246</sup> For ʿAlavī’s signature, see Majlis, MS 1284/2, fol. 37r:15. Photographs from a microfilm of the manuscript are available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3452/2 (ʿaks). For descriptions of this manuscript, see Yūsuf Iʿtiṣāmī et al.,

Other works on Ibn Sīnā’s metaphysical thought written in Arabic include *Khaṭafāt al-quḍs* (“Spiritual Flashes”), completed before 1011 AH (=1602-03), which has recently been printed on the basis of an unidentified manuscript that was preserved in the private collection of Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawzātī (d. 1391 SH [=2012]) in Isfahan.<sup>247</sup> In *Miftāḥ al-Shifāʾ wa-l-ʿurwa al-wuthqā* (“The Key to ‘The Cure’ and the Firm Tie”), also completed before 1011 AH (=1602-03), ʿAlavī commented on *al-Shifāʾ*.<sup>248</sup> In the introduction, the author relates that he wrote his commentary during the reign of ʿAbbās I.<sup>249</sup> A revised version written entirely in ʿAlavī’s hand, signed by him, and dated 1036 AH (=1626-27), i.e. more than twenty-five years after the first version, is preserved in Tehran, Majlis, MS 1788.<sup>250</sup> In the same year, 1036

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*Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 1-, Tihārān: Majlis, 1305-/1926-], 24/3:55; Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mikrūfilmhā*, 2:146; DINĀ, 3:59, no. 62454; FANKHĀ, 8:464.

For other examples of ʿAlavī’s hand, including his signature, see the facsim. of manuscripts of various works in Iʿtiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 5:520; Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 1:190-191; ʿAlavī, *Laṭāʾif-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 84, 86 (introduction); idem, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 110. See also Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations,” 237-238, n. 10.

<sup>247</sup> See Aḥmad ʿAlavī, *Khaṭafāt al-quḍs*, ed. M. Hādīzādah, Tihārān: Muʿassasa-yi Pizhūhishī-i Ḥikmat va Falsafa-yi Īrān, 1391/[2012], esp. 12-14, 23. The manuscript of 95 fols (defective at the beginning and end) that was consulted for the edition is said to have been written in ʿAlavī’s hand. It comprises a letter of Mullā Ṣadr (d. 1045/1636) to Mīr Dāmād in the appendix, which still awaits publication. The current location of the manuscript is unknown to me.

<sup>248</sup> See Dhariʿa, 15:249-250, no. 1613, 21:333, no. 5340 (Āghā Buzurg presents the work as being two different writings entitled *Miftāḥ al-Shifāʾ* and *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthqā*); Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 175, no. 6. For the manuscripts of the work, see Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-ʿarabī al-makḥṭūṭ fī maktabāt Īrān al-ʿamma*, 14 vols, Qum: Dalīl Mā, 1431/2010, 12:133; DINĀ, 9:1037-1038, nos 266763-266769.

<sup>249</sup> See Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 6308, 135 fols (own foliation), here 2r:25; Tehran, Majlis, MS 1787, 295 fols, here 2v:5; Tehran, Majlis, MS 1788, 692 pp. (no foliation), here 2:12. For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 16:239; Iʿtiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 5:180-186.

<sup>250</sup> For ʿAlavī’s signature and the date of the copy, see Tehran, Majlis 1788, p. 692:24-26. On the front page, we read a note that dates the beginning of the composition of the first version of *Miftāḥ al-Shifāʾ* to 1008 AH (=1599-1600).



(=1626-27), °Alavī completed his gloss *Kuḥl al-abṣār* (“The Darkening of Vision”) on Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*.<sup>251</sup>

The *terminus ante quem* for the composition of *Khaṭafāt al-quds* and *Miftāḥ al-Shifā’* is suggested by °Alavī’s *Riyāḍ al-quds* (“The Spiritual Garden”), in which both works are referenced.<sup>252</sup> In 1011 AH (=1602-03), °Alavī completed his Arabic super-commentary *Riyāḍ al-quds* on °Alā al-Dīn °Alī al-Qūshjī’s (d. 879/1474) and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafri’s (d. 956/1550) commentaries on the metaphysics of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s (d. 672/1274) *Tajrīd al-i’tiqād* (“Catharsis of the Articles of Faith”).<sup>253</sup> About twenty-five years later, in early Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1037 (=at the beginning of August 1628), °Alavī began to work on an abridged version of *Riyāḍ al-quds* entitled *Ḥaḏīrat al-uns min arkān Kitāb Riyāḍ al-quds* (“The Enclosed Garden of Intimacy made of the Chief Elements of ‘The Spiritual Garden’”), which became relatively popular among Shi‘ī audiences.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> For the manuscripts of the work, see DINĀ, 8:574, nos 224781-224784.

<sup>252</sup> See Dhari‘a, 11:334, no. 1987; °Alavī, *Khaṭafāt al-quds*, ed. Hādīzādah, 11. A defective and undated copy of *Riyāḍ al-quds* is preserved in Tehran, Majlis, MS 5350, 86 fols. The title of the work is indicated on fols 72v:13; 80r:3. For a description of this manuscript, see I’tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 16:262.

<sup>253</sup> *Riyāḍ al-quds* circulated under the different titles of *al-Ta’līqa al-qudsiyya* or *Maṣābiḥ al-quds wa-qanādīl al-uns*. On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari‘a, 6:114, 7:96, no. 495, 11:334, no. 1987; Rawzāti, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 174, no. 3; Mu‘jam, 3:487, no. 7161, 5:125, no. 10821; DINĀ, 5:1105, no. 144978, 9:633, no. 256462.

<sup>254</sup> For the date of composition of the abridgement, see the introduction by the author in Najaf, Madrasa-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, MS 122, 330 pp. (no foliation), here 2, marginal note; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mirās-i Islāmī, MS 2671, 150 fols (own foliation), copied by Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Qāsim-°Alī and dated to Ṣafar 1045 AH (=July-August 1635), here 2r:8-9; Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 8473, 195 fols (own foliation), copied in the Madrasa-yi Bāqiriyya in Isfahan and dated to Rabī‘ II 1052 AH (=June-July 1642), here 2r:14-15; Tehran, Majlis, MS 5401/1, fols 1v-119r (defective at the beginning and end), here 1v:14-15. Digital scans of Najaf, Madrasa-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, MS 122 and Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mirās-i Islāmī, MS 2671 are available in the digital library of Majma‘-i Zakhā’ir-i Islāmī in Qum (see [www.zakhair.net](http://www.zakhair.net); accessed 10 November 2015). For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Aḥmad Ḥ. Ishkavarī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mirās-i Islāmī*, 8 vols, Qum: Majma‘-i Zakhā’ir-i Islāmī, 1377-84/1419-26/[1998-99-2005-06], 7:152; Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 17:143; I’tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 16:305.

Among the extant copies of *Ḥazīrat al-uns*, the one preserved today in Najaf, Madrasa-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, MS 122 is dedicated to Sulṭān °Abd Allāh Quṭbshāh (r. 1035/1626-1083/1672), the penultimate ruler of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty in Golconda in the Deccan of India.<sup>255</sup> At the end of *Ḥazīrat al-uns*, °Alavī announces the composition of another commentary on al-Ṭūsī’s dogmatics *Tajrīd al-i°tiqād* entitled *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn fī baḥth imāmat al-a°imma al-ma°ṣūmīn* (“The Garden of the Pious Concerning the Imamate of the Immaculate Imāms”).<sup>256</sup> *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* was thus completed after 1037 AH (=1628).<sup>257</sup> In this Arabic tract, our Shī’ī scholar commented on al-Ṭūsī’s thinking on the imamate. He also drew on biblical passages to prove the veracity of the advent of the imāms.

Like in his polemical works against Christianity, °Alavī quotes in *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* Genesis 17:20 (“As for Ismā’īl, I have heard you; I will bless him and make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation”) to prove the authenticity of the mission of the twelve imāms.<sup>258</sup> In the Islamic

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On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari°a, 7:26, no. 124; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 176, no. 11; Mu°jam, 3:117, no. 5283; Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-°arabī*, 5:156-157; DINĀ, 4:665-666, nos 103420-103427; FANKHĀ, 13:71-72, 17:340-341.

<sup>255</sup> See Najaf, Madrasa-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, MS 122, p. 2:16-17. See also Dhari°a, 11:334, no. 1987.

<sup>256</sup> See Najaf, Madrasa-yi Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī, MS 122, p. 330:11-13; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā°-i Mirās-i Islāmī, MS 2671, fol. 150r:18-19; Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 8473, fol. 195r:19-20.

<sup>257</sup> On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari°a, 11:302, no. 1802; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 175, no. 4; Mu°jam, 3:482, no. 7140; Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-°arabī*, 6:252-253; DINĀ, 5:1069, nos 144066-144067; FANKHĀ, 17:222.

<sup>258</sup> In Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā°-i Mirās-i Islāmī, MS 2993/1, pp. 1-277 (no foliation), here 20:16-21:1, the partly defective transcription of the Hebrew into Perso-Arabic script reads as follows (the original Hebrew verse is indicated in square brackets):

{ولشما عيل شما تيخو هنا بيراختي ايتي وحفريتي ايتي وحريتي ايتي بماد ماد شنييم عشور لامينا لغوي كوديل} [ {וְלִישְׁמַעֵיאל שְׁמַעְתִּיךָ הַנִּה בְּרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהַפְרִיתִי אֹתוֹ וְהַרְבִּיתִי אֹתוֹ בְּמֵאֵד בְּמֵאֵד מְאֹד שְׁנַיִם-עָשָׂר נְשִׂאִם יוֹלִיד וְנִתְתִּי לְנָוִי קְדוֹל } ].

tradition, Ismāʿīl – the son of Abraham and Hagar – is regarded as an ancestor to Muḥammad and his descendants.

In *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn*, Genesis 17:20 is adduced in nearly the same (defective) Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew that also appears in the early manuscripts of ʿAlavī’s anti-Christian works *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ*, including the omission of some Hebrew terms (*nesiʾim*, *yolid*, *untatiy*).<sup>259</sup> It is thus likely that ʿAlavī copied the transcribed Hebrew verse from his earlier polemical works into *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn*. In contrast to a widespread assumption established by Henry Corbin, there is no evidence that ʿAlavī was acquainted with Hebrew.<sup>260</sup> Rather, he drew on Muslim intermediary sources which provided the Hebrew biblical material transcribed in Arabic script.

Besides his glosses on Ibn Sīnā’s and al-Ṭūsī’s thought, ʿAlavī is best known for his Arabic commentaries on the writings of his teacher Mīr Dāmād. In 1023 AH (=1614), still during Mīr Dāmād’s lifetime, he glossed in *Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq* (“The Disclosure of Truths”) on his *Taqwīm al-īmān* (“The Rectification of the Faith”).<sup>261</sup> After the death of Mīr Dāmād, ʿAlavī wrote a commentary on his teacher’s chief work *Qabasāt ḥaqq al-yaqīn fī ḥudūth al-*

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Digital scans of Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, MS 2993/1 are available in the digital library of Majmaʿ-i Zakhāʾir-i Islāmī in Qum. For a description of this manuscript, see Ishkavarī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 7:396.

<sup>259</sup> See Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations,” 241, 246.

<sup>260</sup> For details, see *ibid.*, 239-240.

<sup>261</sup> See Aḥmad ʿAlavī, “Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq,” in: Dāmād, *Taqwīm al-īmān*, ed. Awjabī: 381-771. The edition is based on two manuscripts, namely Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 222, 138 fols, copied in ʿAlavī’s hand and dated to Rajab 1023 AH (=August-September 1614), dedicated to a certain Mīr Muḥammad Muʾmin, as well as Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 223, 117 fols, dated to Jumādā II 1038 AH (=January-February 1629) [both manuscripts not seen by me]. See ʿAlavī, “Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq,” ed. Awjabī, 153-154. On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhariʿa, 18:29, no. 522; Rawzāti, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 174, no. 2; Muʿjam, 4:503, no. 9904; DINĀ, 8:626.

*‘ālam* (“The Blazing Brands of the Truth of Certitude on the Creation of the World”), which has been edited by Ḥāmid Nājī Iṣfahānī.<sup>262</sup>

In the introduction to his *Sharḥ al-Qabasāt*, ‘Alavī relates that Mīr Dāmād urged him to gloss on his *Qabasāt*: “Time and again while he was alive [Mīr Dāmād] commanded me to undertake the commentary of this delightful book.”<sup>263</sup> Among the extant manuscripts of ‘Alavī’s commentary, the one preserved in Islamabad, Ganj Bakhsh Library, MS 634, dated 1101 AH (=1689-90), was reportedly collated by his grandson, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥasīb, on 1 Ṣafar 1102 AH (=4 November 1690) with the exemplar that is said to have been penned by ‘Alavī.<sup>264</sup>

‘Alavī has also commented on Shī‘ī *ḥadīth* collections, namely al-Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī*, Ibn Bābawayh’s *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*, and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Istibṣār*. In ‘Alavī’s *al-Ḥāshiya ‘alā uṣūl al-Kāfī* (“Commentary on the Principles of ‘The Sufficient’”) that has recently been printed, there is no indication to determine the exact date of composition of the Arabic

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<sup>262</sup> See ‘Alavī, *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. Iṣfahānī. The edition is based on three manuscripts, namely Tehran, Majlis, MS 186, 146 fols (partly defective), copied by Muḥammad Rafī‘ and dated 1147 AH (=1734-35), Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 4271, 240 fols, and Islamabad, Ganj Bakhsh Library, MS 634, 412 fols, copied by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nā‘īnī and dated 1101 AH (=1689-90) [the two last manuscripts not seen by me]. For a description of these manuscripts, see ‘Alavī, *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 19-20, 75-77. On the work and its manuscripts, see Mu‘jam, 4:84, no. 7922; DINĀ, 6:911; FANKHĀ, 20:312-313.

For an English translation of selected passages from ‘Alavī’s commentary, see Keven A. Brown, “Time, Perpetuity, and Eternity. Mīr Dāmād’s Theory of Perpetual Creation and the Trifold Division of Existence: An Analysis of *Kitāb Al-Qabasāt: The Book of Blazing Brands*,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006, esp. xix and the footnotes throughout the work. See also Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād, *Kitāb al-Qabasāt: The Book of Blazing Brands. A Provisional English Translation, Introduction, and Notes. Including Selections from Sayyed Aḥmad ‘Alawī’s Sharḥ Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, translated by K. Brown, New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2009.

<sup>263</sup> See ‘Alavī, *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 17, 89. For the English translation, see Dāmād, *Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, translated by Brown, xix, n. 34.

<sup>264</sup> See ‘Alavī, *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 20, 77. On Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, see Ṣadr, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. Ḥusaynī, 244, no. 205, 349, no. 336.

commentary.<sup>265</sup> The publication is based on what appears to be a *unicum*, Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 2849/2, fols 141v-370r, dated to Muḥarram 1060 AH (=January-February 1650) [not seen by me].<sup>266</sup> In addition, ʿAlavī wrote an Arabic commentary entitled *Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>ārif al-ilāhiyya* (“The Knowledge of the Divine”) on the well-known *ḥadīth* attributed to the first imām, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661): *Man ʿarafa nafsahu fa-qad ʿarafa rabbahu* (“He Who knows Himself knows His Lord”).<sup>267</sup>

While the manuscripts of ʿAlavī’s commentary on Ibn Bābawayh’s *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu l-faqīh* still remain to be researched, his *Manāḥij al-Akḥbār fī sharḥ al-Istibṣār* (“Methods of the Traditions Regarding the Commentary on ‘The Consideration’”) has been published.<sup>268</sup> It consists of three volumes, all of them written in Arabic, the first of which was completed at the end of Rajab 1036 AH (=mid-April 1627) and the second one in 1039 (=1629-30).<sup>269</sup> The first volume comprises two books on purity (Arab. *ṭahāra*) and ritual prayer (Arab. *ṣalāt*), the second one includes three books on fasting (Arab. *ṣawm* or *ṣiyām*), the one-fifth tax (Arab.

<sup>265</sup> See ʿAlavī, *al-Ḥāshiyā ʿalā uṣūl al-Kāfi*, ed. Ḥusaynī Ishkavarī.

<sup>266</sup> See *ibid.*, 28 (the date of the colophon is erroneously indicated by the editor as 1070 AH). For a facsim. of the colophon, see *ibid.*, 30. On the work and its manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-ʿarabī*, 4:446; DINĀ, 4:363; FANKHĀ, 12:253.

<sup>267</sup> See Tehran, Majlis, MS 9464/33, pp. 325-334 (no foliation). The name of the author is identified on *ibid.*, p. 334:23. On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari<sup>ʿ</sup>a, 21:190, no. 4554; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 175, no. 5; Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-ʿarabī*, 12:6-7; Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>jam, 5:171, no. 11050; DINĀ, 9:785.

<sup>268</sup> See Aḥmad ʿAlavī, *Manāḥij al-Akḥbār fī sharḥ al-Istibṣār*, 3 vols [unidentified editor], Qum: Ismāʿiliyān, [n.d.]. I have accessed the edition through a digital version that is available on the compact disk ‘Majmū<sup>ʿ</sup>a-yi āṣār-i Shaykh Ṭūsī’ of the Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Kāmpyūtari-i ʿUlūm-i Islāmī in Qum (I thank Sabine Schmidtke for bringing the disk to my attention). On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari<sup>ʿ</sup>a, 22:342, no. 7395; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 175, no. 8; Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-ʿarabī*, 12:320-321; DINĀ, 10:77. On ʿAlavī’s commentary on *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu l-faqīh*, see Dhari<sup>ʿ</sup>a, 6:223, no. 1249; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 176, no. 13.

<sup>269</sup> See ʿAlavī, *Manāḥij al-Akḥbār*, 1:671, 3:289. At the end of the first volume of the edition, we read a colophon written by Ibn Muḥammad Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>min ʿAlī Muḥsin Māhānī Kirmānī and dated 14 Muḥarram 1110 AH (=23 July 1698). The colophon was apparently copied from the *Vorlage*. Since there is no introduction by the editor to the digital version of the work, it remains unclear to me on which manuscripts the edition is based.

*khums*), and the alms tax (Arab. *zakāt*), and the third one contains a book on the pilgrimage to Mecca (Arab. *ḥajj*).

Compared with °Alavī's Arabic works, his Persian treatises were addressed to a broader, less scholarly audience. In 1034 AH (=1624-25), °Alavī completed a tract dedicated to the Akhbārī savant Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (d. 1036/1626), namely his *Risāla dar radd-i Mawlā Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī* ("A Treatise in Refutation of Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī"), also known as *Risāla fī najāsāt al-khamr* ("A Treatise on the Impurity of Wine"). In this tract, °Alavī refuted the legal opinion (Arab. *fatwā*) of the Akhbārī scholar on the cultic purity of wine, as he had argued in *Tahārat-i sharāb* ("The Purity of Wine") in favor of its consumption.<sup>270</sup>

In 1043 AH (=1633-34), °Alavī composed his Persian tract *Izhār al-ḥaqq wa-mi'yār al-ṣidq* ("The Demonstration of Truth and the Measure of Veracity") which was written in support of the Tājīk sayyid, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Mūsawī Sabzavārī, known as Mīr Lawḥī (d. 1090/1678 or -79), who was also a disciple of Shaykh Bahā'ī and Mīr Dāmād.<sup>271</sup> In a work that appears to be lost today, the fellow student of °Alavī had condemned Abū Muslim Khurāsānī (d. 137/755) for his anti-Shī'ī activities in the °Abbasid revolution against the Umayyads and accused him of a lack of reverence to the descendants of the Prophet (Pers.

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<sup>270</sup> For details, see Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 177, no. 20. On Astarābādī, see Etan Kohlberg, "Astarābādī, Moḥammad Amīn," in: EIr, 2 (1987): 845-846; Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, esp. 106-108; Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, London: Tauris, 2006, 70-71.

<sup>271</sup> See Aḥmad °Alavī, "Izhār al-ḥaqq wa-mi'yār al-ṣidq," ed. R. Ja'fariyān, in: idem, ed., *Mirās-i Islāmī-i Irān*, vol. 2, Tihārān: Kitābkhāna-yi Ḥāzrat-i Āyat Allāh al-°uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1374/[1996]: 260-302. The identity of the manuscript, on which the edition is based, remains unclear. However, the editor quotes in a note the undated colophon of the manuscript consulted for the edition, in which it is stated that it was copied from a model penned by the author of the treatise. See *ibid.*, 267, n. 1.

On the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari'ā, 11:91-92, no. 564; Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 170-171, 175, no. 9; Mu'jam, 1:376, no. 1551; DINĀ, 1:1148; FANKHĀ, 4:366-367. On Mīr Lawḥī, see Abdul-Hadi Hairī, "Mīr Lawḥī," in: EI<sup>2</sup>, 7 (1965): 94-95.

*ahl-i bayt*).<sup>272</sup> Besides °Alavī, some sixteen authors sided with Mīr Lawḥī and defended his criticism of Abū Muslim, among them Mīr Dāmād.<sup>273</sup>

Several of °Alavī's minor Persian works have been printed in recent years. The unidentified manuscripts on which the publications are based appear to be unique copies, all held by the late M. °A. Rawzātī in Isfahan. The current location of his private manuscript collection, however, is unknown to me. In *Dābbat al-arḍ* ("The Beast of the Earth"), °Alavī glossed on Sūrat al-Naml (27):82.<sup>274</sup> In his interpretation, the verse contains a prediction of the return of the twelfth imām, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, who had passed into what is known as the major Occultation (Arab. *al-ghayba al-kubrā*).<sup>275</sup> °Alavī's *Taqaddum-i namāz-i ziyārat dar ziyārat az ba'īd* ("Preceding the Prayer of Visitation for a Visitation from Afar") deals with the ritual practices of Shī'ī visitors (Pers. *zā'irān*) to the shrines.<sup>276</sup> In *Sharḥ-i fiqra'ī az Nahj al-balāgha* ("Commentary on One of the Finest Passages of 'The Pathway to Eloquence'"),

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<sup>272</sup> For details, see Ghulām Ḥ. Yūsufī, "Abū Moslem Ḳorāsānī," in: EIr, 1 (1983): 341-344; Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002, esp. 121-160; Maryam Moazzen, "Rituals of Commemoration, Rituals of Self-Invention: Safavid Religious Colleges and the Collective Memory of the Shi'a," *Iranian Studies* 49 (2016): 555-575, here 565-566.

<sup>273</sup> See Dhari'ā, 4:150-151, no. 734; °Alavī, "Izhār al-ḥaqq," ed. Ja'fariyān, 257-258.

<sup>274</sup> See Aḥmad °Alavī, "Dābbat al-arḍ," ed. Ḥ. N. Iṣfahānī, in: M. J. Nūr-Muḥammadī, ed. *Mirās-i ḥawza-yi Iṣfahān*, vol. 5, Iṣfahān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Rāyāna'ī-i Ḥawza-yi °Ilmiyya-yi Iṣfahān, 1387/[2008-09]: 33-48. For a description of the manuscript used for the edition, see *ibid.*, 38-40 (with facsim. of the first and the last folio of the manuscript). On the work and its manuscript, see Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 177, no. 23; Mu'jam, 3:237, no. 5823.

<sup>275</sup> See °Alavī, "Dābbat al-arḍ," ed. Iṣfahānī, 47.

<sup>276</sup> See Aḥmad °Alavī, "Taqaddum-i namāz-i ziyārat dar ziyārat az ba'īd," ed. M. J. Nūr-Muḥammadī in: *ibid.*, ed., *Mirās-i ḥawza-yi Iṣfahān*, vol. 5, Iṣfahān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Rāyāna'ī-i Ḥawza-yi °Ilmiyya-yi Iṣfahān, 1387/[2008-09]: 331-346. For a description of the manuscript used for the edition, see *ibid.*, 332, 336-337 (with facsim. of the first and the last folio of the manuscript). See also Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 177, no. 22.

‘Alavī commented on a saying attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, in his seventeenth letter in reply to a letter by the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680).<sup>277</sup>

These writings clearly show ‘Alavī’s erudition as an eminent philosopher and Imāmī theologian who wrote extensively on a variety of fields, both in Arabic and Persian. In what follows I wish to introduce his anti-Christian and anti-Jewish works, focusing in particular on the polemical use of biblical material. These writings will be closely assessed to understand the contours of ‘Alavī’s thought on the Scriptures. Since they are extant in various manuscripts and recensions, it is necessary to give particular attention to the transmission history of the texts.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> See Aḥmad ‘Alavī, “Sharḥ-i fiqra’ī az Nahj al-balāgha,” ed. M. J. Nūr-Muḥammadī, in: idem, ed., *Mirās-i ḥawza-yi Iṣfahān*, vol. 6, Iṣfahān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Rāyāna’i-i Ḥawza-yi ‘Ilmiyya-yi Iṣfahān, 1389/[2010-11]: 215-222. For a description of the manuscript used for the edition, see *ibid.*, 216-218 (with facsim. of the first and the last folio of the manuscript). According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied by a certain Muḥammad (other parts of the name have been erased).

<sup>278</sup> See below, Appendices 1 and 2.



### 3.1 °Alavī's Attitude towards Judaism and Christianity

In the 1620s, when °Alavī was already a well-established scholar, he studied the Gospels and other biblical material intensely and authored five refutations of Judaism and Christianity in Persian. After the completion of the previously mentioned *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī*, certainly before Sha°bān 1031 AH (=June 1622), he wrote his only known anti-Jewish treatise *Şavā°iq-i raḥmān dar radd-i mazhab-i Yahūdān* (“Thunderbolts of the Merciful in Refutation of the Jews”), of which no manuscript has so far been identified.<sup>279</sup> The title is mentioned in the prologue to °Alavī's second refutation of Christianity *Mişqal-i şafā°* and can thus be dated before the completion of this work in Muḥarram 1032 AH (=November-December 1622).<sup>280</sup>

*Mişqal-i şafā°* provoked several rebuttals from Christian authors, both during and after °Alavī's lifetime.<sup>281</sup> The earliest of them, written in Persian by a missionary who still remains to be identified, was forwarded to °Alavī at an unknown date. The Shi°ī scholar replied by composing a short counter-refutation, in which he frequently refers to his opponent as “Pādirī

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<sup>279</sup> On the work, see Dhari°a, 15:94, no. 621; Abdul-Hadi Hairi, “Reflections on the Shi°i Responses to Missionary Thought and Activities in the Safavid Period,” in: J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, Paris: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1993: 151-164, esp. 156; Mu°jam, 4:172, no. 8352.

Following the composition of *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī*, °Alavī wrote a gematria poem in Arabic, which is based on terms used in his first refutation of Christianity. The poem that is extant in Qum, Mar°ashī, MS 7591/2, fols 155v-162r, is entitled *Lughaz bi-sm-i Lavāmi°-i rabbānī dar daqā°iq-i masā°il-i jamī°-i °ulūm*. It is dated to 1031 AH (=1621-22). For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi (...) Mar°ashī*, 19:404; Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-°arabī*, 4:400.

<sup>280</sup> See °Alavī, *Mişqal-i şafā°*, ed. Işfahānī, 115:15. See also *ibid.*, 215:17-18, 232:23, 264:2.

<sup>281</sup> For details, see Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite,” 383-396; *idem*, “L’apport des missionnaires européens à la connaissance de l’Iran en Europe et de l’Europe en Iran,” in: Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*: 251-266, esp. 260-261; *idem*, “Le Père Aimé Chézaud controversiste et ses manuscrits persans,” *Nāmeḥ-ye Bahārestān* 6-7 (1385-86/2005-06): 7-18; Ja°fariyān, *Şafaviyyah*, 3:979-980; Işfahānī, “Bargī az munāzarahā,” 482-484; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:51; D. Halft, “Twelver Shi°i Responses to the ‘Accursed Father’ Filippo Guadagnoli (1596-1656);” *idem*, “Filippo Guadagnoli,” in: CMR1900, vol. 10 (both forthcoming).

Mī-Milād.”<sup>282</sup> °Alavī erroneously assumed him to be the author of Jerónimo Xavier’s *Ā’īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* (“The Mirror Showing the Truth”), as it is clear from the title of his treatise (as well as its contents):<sup>283</sup> *Risāla dar radd-i dībāja [sic!] ka °ālim-i Naṣārā ka muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā’īna-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba°d az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā’īna-ash* (“A Treatise in Refutation of the Preface by the Christian Scholar and Author of ‘The Mirror Showing the Truth’, after Having Seen [°Alavī’s] ‘The Polisher’ in Refutation of his ‘Mirror’”).<sup>284</sup> In his counter-refutation, °Alavī also mentions the author °Abd al-Sattār ibn Qāsim Lāhawrī (d. after 1028/1619), who collaborated with Xavier in his translation enterprise at the Mughal court.<sup>285</sup> Our Shī’ī author claims that °Abd al-Sattār had written a Christian reply to *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>286</sup> which, however, has not yet been identified.<sup>286</sup>

Moreover, °Alavī refers in the above-mentioned *Risāla* to his fourth anti-Christian treatise entitled *Lama°āt-i malakūtiyya* (= *Lama°āt-i malakūtī*, “Heavenly Splendors”).<sup>287</sup> Its only manuscript known so far is dated to mid-Shawwāl 1034 AH (=second half of July

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<sup>282</sup> °Alavī’s counter-refutation has been published in the appendix to °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī: 2-16 (separate pagination). The edition is based on what appears to be the only known copy of the work, Qum, Madrasa-yi Fayziyya, MS 1393/2, pp. 248-276 (no foliation). For a description of this manuscript, see Rizā Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Fayziyya, Qum*, vol. 1-, Qum: Mihr, 1396-/[1976-], 3:88.

<sup>283</sup> On Xavier’s *Ā’īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, see below. In his Persian texts, Jerónimo Xavier introduces himself as “Pādirī Shīrānī-mū Shavā’ir” (see Harrow, “Jérôme Xavier and Two Persian Gospels,” 119). It cannot be excluded that “Pādirī Mī-Milād” is a malapropism of the Persian transcription of Xavier’s name.

<sup>284</sup> See Aḥmad °Alavī, “Risāla dar radd-i dībāja [sic!] ka °ālim-i Naṣārā ka muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā’īna-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba°d az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā’īna-ash,” in: idem, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā dar naqd-i kalām-i masīhiyyat*, ed. Ḥ. N. Iṣfahānī, Qum: Amīr, 1415/1373/[1994]: 2-16 (separate pagination).

<sup>285</sup> On him, see Corinne Lefèvre, “°Abd al-Sattār b. Qāsim Lāhawrī,” EI<sup>3</sup> (online edition).

<sup>286</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 6:9-10 (appendix); Iṣfahānī, “Bargī az munāẓarahā,” 480-481.

<sup>287</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 12:17 (appendix).

1625).<sup>288</sup> In *Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya*, °Alavī brought forward a mixture of theological and philosophical arguments to refute the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Assuming conformity between the esoteric aspects (Pers. *bāṭin*) of the Gospel and the Qur<sup>°</sup>ān, he identified the Prophet Muḥammad with the Paraclete (Pers. *fāriqlī*) of the Gospel of John (who is interpreted as the Holy Spirit in the Christian tradition).<sup>289</sup> In support of his argument, °Alavī quoted passages from the Qur<sup>°</sup>ān, the prophetic tradition, the Bible, and the teachings of philosophers, namely the illuminationists (Pers. *ishrāqiyān*) as well as the peripatetics (Pers. *mashshā<sup>°</sup>iyān*).

Without indicating his source, our Shī<sup>°</sup>ī scholar adduced several citations in Arabic attributed to Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, some of which already appear in al-Shahrastānī’s (d. 548/1153) well-known *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (“Book of Religions and Sects”).<sup>290</sup> Another unidentified citation attributed to Plato partly agrees with a passage in the anthology *al-Kashkūl* by °Alavī’s teacher Shaykh Bahā<sup>°</sup>ī.<sup>291</sup> While the particular sources used by °Alavī still remain to be identified, there is evidence that °Alavī consulted Ibn al-°Arabī’s (d. 638/1240) Qur<sup>°</sup>ān commentary on the interpretation of Sūrat al-Naml (27):8 and Sūrat Ṭa-Ha

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<sup>288</sup> For an edition of *Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya*, see Aḥmad °Alavī, “Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya,” ed. R. Ja<sup>°</sup>fariyān, in: idem, ed., *Mirās-i Islāmī-i Irān*, vol. 3, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Ḥaẓrat-i Āyat Allāh al-°uzmā Mar<sup>°</sup>ashī Najafī, 1375/1416/[1996]: 727-750. The printed text is based on Qum, Mar<sup>°</sup>ashī, MS 7591/3, fols 163v-184v. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi (...) Mar<sup>°</sup>ashī*, 19:405; Mu<sup>°</sup>jam, 5:570-571, no. 10194; DINĀ, 8:1078.

<sup>289</sup> See °Alavī, “Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya,” ed. Ja<sup>°</sup>fariyān, esp. 739:25-26.

<sup>290</sup> See *ibid.*, 735:21-736:1 (=Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, 3 pts in 1 vol., ed. A. Fahmī Muḥammad, Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-°Ilmiyya, 2009, 478); 742:21 (475); 742:22-24 (476); 743:1-3 (476-477).

<sup>291</sup> See °Alavī, “Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya,” ed. Ja<sup>°</sup>fariyān, 744:21-24, 745:15-25 (=Bahā<sup>°</sup> al-Dīn Muḥammad °Āmilī, *al-Kashkūl*, 2 vols, ed. M. °Abd al-Karīm al-Nimrī, Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-°Ilmiyya, 1418/1998, 2:41).

(20):10-12.<sup>292</sup> At the end of *Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya*, we read a collection of biblical and pseudo-biblical attributes (Pers. *asāmī*) in Arabic, Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew transcribed in Perso-Arabic script, which are interpreted as annunciations of Muḥammad by the prophets.<sup>293</sup>

Besides the polemical works, our Shī<sup>°</sup>i scholar began in 1033 AH (=1623-24) to write his own Persian commentary on qur<sup>°</sup>ānic verses related to the doctrines of Muslim faith, in which he quotes from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures (Pers. *kitābhā-yi āsmānī*) to authenticate the mission of Muḥammad and the twelve imāms.<sup>294</sup> <sup>°</sup>Alavī's commentary is entitled *Laṭā<sup>°</sup>if-i ghaybī* ("Concealed Subtleties").<sup>295</sup> It is structured in five chapters (Pers. *rukṅ*), in which the author deals with the being of God (Pers. *vujūd-i Khudā*) and his attributes (Pers. *ṣifāt*) of divine justice and wisdom (Pers. *°adl va-ḥikmat*), of prophecy (Pers.

<sup>292</sup> See <sup>°</sup>Alavī, "Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya," ed. Ja<sup>°</sup>fariyān, 740:25-741:2 (=Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-<sup>°</sup>Arabī, *Tafsīr al-Qur<sup>°</sup>ān al-karīm*, 2 vols, Bayrūt: Dār al-Yaqāza al-<sup>°</sup>Arabiyya, 1387/1968, 2:193); 741:3-18 (2:34-35).

<sup>293</sup> See <sup>°</sup>Alavī, "Lama<sup>°</sup>āt-i malakūtiyya," ed. Ja<sup>°</sup>fariyān, 746-749.

<sup>294</sup> For the date of composition, see <sup>°</sup>Alavī, *Laṭā<sup>°</sup>if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 4 (introduction). The edition is based on two unidentified manuscripts, both held by the Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānishgāh in Tehran (see *ibid.*, 82-83 [introduction]). A comparison between the facsimiles included in the publication (see *ibid.*, 84, 86 [introduction]) and the manuscript catalogue of the library (see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 1:190-191) suggests that the edition of *Laṭā<sup>°</sup>if-i ghaybī* was mainly based upon Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 74, 137 fols, written in <sup>°</sup>Alavī's hand, dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī, and dated to the end of Jumādā I 1044 AH (=mid-November 1634), as well as Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 24, 16 fols (the two manuscripts form a single whole; MS 24 comprises the first part, fols 1-16, MS 74 comprises the second one, fols 17-153). It seems that the editor collated the text against Tehran, Dānishkada-yi Ilāhiyyāt, MS 220 B, 243 fols, with amendments in <sup>°</sup>Alavī's hand (for facsim. of the first and the last folio, as well as another folio with an autograph in the margin, see <sup>°</sup>Alavī, *Laṭā<sup>°</sup>if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 85, 87, 88 [introduction]) [all three manuscripts not seen by me].

For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 1:188-192, nos 147, 148; Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishkada-yi Ilāhiyyāt va Ma<sup>°</sup>ārif-i Islāmī-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān*, 2 vols, Tih-rān: Dānishgāh, 1345-48/[1966-69], 1:118-119, 2:187.

<sup>295</sup> For the work and its manuscripts, see Dhari<sup>°</sup>a, 18:317, no. 279; Mu<sup>°</sup>jam, 4:565-566, no. 10171.

*nubuvvat*), of the imamate (Pers. *imāmat*), and of provenance and destination (Pers. *mabda' va-ma'ād*).

In chapter three on prophecy, °Alavī relied heavily on his earlier polemical works *Lavāmi'c-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, from which he reproduced passages from the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels in Persian as “testimonies” to Muḥammad, the ‘Paraclete’, and the imāms.<sup>296</sup> Since our Shī'ī scholar indicates his citations from the Gospels according to the Coptic chapter divisions, it is beyond doubt that he relied on a Persian translation of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. Following the citations, °Alavī reproduced the already mentioned collection of biblical and pseudo-biblical attributes of Muḥammad, as it appears in his anti-Christian treatise *Lama'āt-i malakūtiyya*.<sup>297</sup> Thus, in the 1620s, °Alavī authored several major works – five polemical treatises and a Qur'ān commentary – in all of which he draws on the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> For biblical material that appears in *Lavāmi'c-i rabbānī*, see °Alavī, *Laṭā'if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 216:13-14, 14-17, 18-20; 218:20-219:3; 223:10-16, 17-20; 224:1-2, 3-8; 225:12-13, 15-18, 19-22 (=idem, “*Lavāmi'c-i rabbānī*,” ed. Sa'īd, 47:8-10 [with slight variations], 11-14, 16-20; 28:14-19; 22:14-23:2, 3-7 [with slight variations], 10-12, 13-20 [with slight variations], 21-22 [with slight variations]; 24:1-5, 5-11).

For biblical material that appears in *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, see °Alavī, *Laṭā'if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 218:14-16, 16-19; 219:4-7, 12-15; 219:16-220:2, 11-13; 221:17-22; 222:5-8, 9-10; 222:12-223:6, 7-8, 10-16, 17-20; 224:1-2, 3-8; 225:12-14, 15-18, 19-22 (=idem, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 182:18-183:3, 6-10, 12-16; 182:5-9 [with slight variations], 10-17; 184:10-11, 12-15; 185:1-3, 4-7, 9-11; 185:18-186:9, 10-11; 178:16-22; 178:22-179:4, 4-6, 19-25; 179:26-180:2, 2-6, 6-11).

<sup>297</sup> See °Alavī, *Laṭā'if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī, 226-230 (=idem, “*Lama'āt-i malakūtiyya*,” ed. Ja'fariyān, 746-749).

<sup>298</sup> °Alavī's works can be listed in the following chronological order: (1) *Lavāmi'c-i rabbānī dar radd-i shubha-yi naṣrānī* (completed between Muḥarram 1031/November 1621 and Sha'bān 1031/June 1622); (2) *Ṣavā'iq-i raḥmān dar radd-i mazhab-i Yahūdān* (completed before Muḥarram 1032/November-December 1622); (3) *Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya va-taṣfiya-yi Ā'ina-yi ḥaqq-numā* (completed in Muḥarram 1032/November-December 1622); (4) *Laṭā'if-i ghaybī* (written in 1033/1623-24); (5) *Lama'āt-i malakūtiyya* (completed before mid-Shawwāl 1034/second half of July 1625); and (6) *Risāla dar radd-i dībāja [sic!] ka 'ālim-i Naṣrā ka muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā'ina-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba'd az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā'ina-ash* (completed following the composition of *Lama'āt-i malakūtiyya*).

What was the reason for ʿAlavī’s intensive study of the sacred Scriptures of the earlier monotheistic religions during that period? Despite Shāh ʿAbbās I’s sympathy for the Christian faith and his affection for individual missionaries, Shīʿī-Catholic relations deteriorated in the early 1620s.<sup>299</sup> This was mainly the result of the Safavid-Portuguese military conflict over their contesting claims for the island of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf. In early 1622, the Safavids succeeded, with the assistance of their English ally, to conquer the island and, a few months later, to bring the strategically important fortress of Hormuz under their control.<sup>300</sup> The shāh must also have feared that the Catholic powers would seek an alliance with his Armenian subjects for the purpose of jeopardizing the interior peace of the Safavid Empire. In late 1621, ʿAbbās I threatened the Armenian community with forced conversion and destroyed some of its villages in the vicinity of Isfahan, apparently to ensure the loyalty of the Armenian elite to his rule.<sup>301</sup>

Following the previously described ‘Isfahan disputation’ between Catholic and Shīʿī representatives of April 1621, ʿAlavī turned his attention to Christianity.<sup>302</sup> Although there is

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<sup>299</sup> For the following, see Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, 79-80; Matthee, “Christians in Safavid Iran,” 20-23; idem, “The Politics of Protection,” 265-266; Half, “Schiitische Polemik,” 287-289.

<sup>300</sup> See Óscar Alfredo Ruiz Fernández, “An Uncommon Affair? The Hormuz Conflict from the Perspective of the Spanish Embassy in London,” in: E. García Hernán, J. Cutillas Ferrer, and R. Matthee, eds, *The Spanish Monarchy and Safavid Persia in the Early Modern Period: Politics, War and Religion*, Valencia: Albatros, 2016: 41-48, esp. 44-46.

<sup>301</sup> See *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:255-257, 271. On the Armenians under Safavid rule, see H. Papazian, “Armenia and Iran vi. Armeno-Iranian relations in the Islamic period,” in: *EIr*, 2 (1986): 467-478; Vartan Gregorian, “Minorities of Isfahan: The Armenian Community of Isfahan 1587-1722,” *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974): 652-680 (repr. in: C. Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran: The Paradoxical Role of a Minority in a Dominant Culture*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998: 27-53); Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, “The Socio-Economic Conditions in New Julfa Post-1650: The Impact of Conversions to Islam on International Trade,” *Revue des études arméniennes* 26 (1996-97): 367-396. See also Matthee, “Christians in Safavid Iran,” 22-23.

<sup>302</sup> For details on the ‘Isfahan disputation’, see above, Chapter 2.1.

no indication that the Shī'ī scholar himself was present during the disputation, the controversy created serious tensions among the Shī'ī clergy of the capital. Mīr Dāmād, the so-called “*mujtahid* Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir,” entrusted his student °Alavī with the refutation of Della Valle’s vindication of Christianity (“*Risāla*”), which resulted in the publication of °Alavī’s *Lavāmi°-i rabbāni*.<sup>303</sup> Numerous copies of the Persian refutation of the Christian faith were offered for sale in the local bookshops of Isfahan, particularly to Europeans.<sup>304</sup> When Della Valle received a copy of the treatise from his Scottish friend Strachan in October 1622, he considered writing a Christian counter-refutation (which was apparently not written before Della Valle left Persia for India in early 1623).<sup>305</sup>

In early 1622, when it became known that missionaries in Isfahan had proselytized among Muslims, the incident did not remain without repercussions for the Europeans (and the five converts). As the Carmelite friar Próspero del Espíritu Santo relates, “more than 200 [Mullas] had come to complain to his Majesty that the Muhammadan religion was being ruined and demand[ed] our death [i.e. the death of the missionaries].”<sup>306</sup> While a handful of Muslim converts to Christianity were executed, the convents of the Augustinians and the Carmelites were attacked, and the friars put under house arrest for several months.<sup>307</sup> As

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<sup>303</sup> See Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 2:443-444; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 285-286.

<sup>304</sup> See Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 2:444; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 286.

<sup>305</sup> See Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 2:445, 447; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 286.

<sup>306</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:261. For the complete account, see *ibid.*, 1:259-266.

<sup>307</sup> See *ibid.*, 1:259-266, 2:925-926; *Asnād-i pādiriyān-i karmilī*, 223-246, no. 155-156, 248-249, no. 158; Martino Garayzabal (Próspero del Espíritu Santo), *A Briefe Relation of the Late Martyrdome of Fiue Persians Conuerted to the Catholique Faith by the Reformed Carmelites, who Remaine in the Mission of Persia, with the King of Persia, in His Citty of Haspahan (...)*, Doway: Printed with permission of superiours, 1623.

Rudi Matthee explains, “the general attitude of toleration for Christianity and its adherents should not be interpreted as inherent philo-Christianity on the part of the Safavid elite.”<sup>308</sup>

The Shīʿī clergy remained hostile to the missionaries. Thus, it is not surprising that *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī* attracted the attention of other scholars, such as the above-mentioned Akhbārī savant Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī, to whom a manuscript copy of the work is dedicated.<sup>309</sup> A certain popularity of the work among Shīʿī readers is also indicated by the number of extant manuscripts. Thirteen manuscript copies have so far been identified, twelve of which have been accessible to me.<sup>310</sup> They were copied between 1622 and the early nineteenth century, covering a time-span of two centuries.

After ʿAlavī’s death, the renowned Imāmī jurist Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1700) studied *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*, as indicated in a bequest statement (Arab. *waqfiyya*) in a copy of the treatise.<sup>311</sup> During the eighteenth century, Āqā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbihānī Kirmānshāhī (d. 1216/1801), a son of the prominent savant Vaḥīd Bihbihānī (d. 1207/1792), drew extensively on *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*.<sup>312</sup> He copied various extracts from Della Valle’s *Risāla* quoted in *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī* into his own polemic entitled *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* (“The Refutation of the Errors of the Infidels”), without indicating his source.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Matthee, “The Politics of Protection,” 254.

<sup>309</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 7591/1, fol. 1v:10.

<sup>310</sup> For descriptions of the extant manuscripts and their classification as manuscript groups, see below, Appendix 1. See also Halft, “Sayyed Aḥmad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbedīn ʿAlavī ʿĀmelī.”

<sup>311</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 8998, fol. 1r:3. On Majlisī, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, “Madjlīsī,” in: EI<sup>2</sup>, 5 (1986): 1086-1088; Robert M. Gleave, “Akhbāriyya and Uṣūliyya,” in: EI<sup>3</sup> (online edition); Rainer Brunner “Majlesi, Moḥammad-Bāqer,” in: EIr (2011, online edition).

<sup>312</sup> See Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, “Muslim Polemics against Judaism and Christianity in 18th Century Iran: The Literary Sources of Āqā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī’s (1144/1732-1216/1801) *Rādd-i Shubuhāt al-Kuffār*,” *Studia Iranica* 35 (2006): 69-94, esp. 85.

<sup>313</sup> In section seven of the third chapter of Bihbihānī’s work (see Āqā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbihānī, *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*, ed. Muʿassasat al-ʿAllāma al-Mujaddid al-Waḥīd al-Bihbihānī, Qum: ʿAllāma-yi



In 1622, shortly after the Shī'ī outcry against the missionaries and their proselytic activities, °Alavī began writing his second anti-Christian treatise *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*.<sup>314</sup> In this work, our Shī'ī scholar refuted an abridged version of the Persian vindication of Christianity *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* by the Navarrese Jesuit Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi, known as Jerónimo (Jerome) Xavier (Javier, 1549-1617).<sup>315</sup> By cleaning “the mirror that was polluted by the dimness of obscurities and the doubts of dust” (Pers. *ān āyina [ka] ba kudūrāt-i shubah va-shukūk-i ghubār ālūd būd*) – an allusion to the title of Xavier’s vindication of Christianity, °Alavī aimed at refuting the Christian teaching of God as the “unified essence of the

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Bihbihānī, 1390/[2011], 107, 117, 119-120, 122-134, 138-141), the following passages from Della Valle’s *Risāla* are adduced (reference is given to Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 7): fols 2v:10-3r:7; 3v:8-4r:1; 4r:1-6; 4r:9-4v:1; 4v:2-5r:3; 5r:3-8; 5r:10-6r:2; 6r:2-6v:2; 6v:3-8; 6v:10-7r:8; 8v:1-9r:4; 9r:5-9v:2; 9v:2-10r:6; 10r:7-10v:3; 10v:3-11r:4; 11r:10-11v:2; 11v:3-7; 12r:4-12v:1; 12v:2-7; 12v:8-13r:5; 13r:5-13v:2; 13v:3-9; 14r:1-8. See also Halft, “Pietro della Valle, *Risāla*.”

<sup>314</sup> The work circulated under the slightly different titles of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya va-taṣfiya-yi Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā dar radd-i mazhab-i Naṣārā fi 1032*, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya-yi Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā dar radd-i taṣlīs-i Naṣārā* or *Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar radd-i taṣlīs-i Naṣārā*.

For descriptions of the extant manuscripts and their classification as manuscript groups, see below, Appendix 2. See also Halft, “Sayyed Aḥmad b. Zayn al-°Ābedīn °Alavī °Āmelī.”

<sup>315</sup> The abridged version circulated in the Indo-Persian world under the slightly different titles of *Muntakhab-i Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, *Intikhāb-i Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* or *Khulāṣa-yi Kitāb-i kirāmī-yi Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā az dīn-i °Īsaviyyān*. The extant manuscripts are preserved in (i) London, BL, MS Add. 23584, 55 fols, dated Dhū l-Hijjah 1152 (=March 1740); (ii) Paris, BNF, MS Persan 154/3, fols 64-96, dated 1039 (=1629); (iii) Paris, BNF, MS Persan 130/1, fols 1-30 (presumably directly copied from Paris, BNF, MS Persan 154/3, written in Latin characters); (iv) Rome, BAV, MS Pers. 47, 129 fols, presumably copied in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century; (v) Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 249, 77 fols; (vi) Venice, BNM, MS Or. CX (124)/3, fols 1-37 (inverse binding, defective in the end), presumably copied in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century (a microfilm of the manuscript is available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 4179 F); (vii) Venice, BNM, MS Or. CXI (149)/2, fols 53-111 [the last-mentioned manuscript as well as those ones preserved in Paris and Saint Petersburg not seen by me].

For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols, London: British Museum, 1879-83, 1:4-5; Blochet, *Catalogue*, 1:12, no. 18, 4:110-112, no. 2152; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 1:153-154, 172-173; Rossi, *Elenco*, 75; Boris A. Dorn and Reinhold Rost, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg*, Saint Petersburg: Impr. de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1852, 243-246; Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, 354, no. 411/2, 354-355, no. 412/3; Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilmhā*, 3:27.

hypostases of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit” (Pers. *ittiḥād bi-l-zāt-i uqnūm al-ab va-uqnūm al-ibn va-uqnūm rūḥ al-quḍus*) and repudiating the doctrine of the “divinity of Jesus” (Pers. *khudā ʔ-yi Masīḥ*).<sup>316</sup>

Jerónimo Xavier, a great-nephew of Francisco Xavier (1506-52), was the head of the third Jesuit mission to Mughal India.<sup>317</sup> In some manuscripts of *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʔ*,<sup>318</sup> ʿAlavī refers to him as “a Christian scholar [...] in India” (Pers. *bāʿzī ʿulamāʔ-i Naṣārā [...] dar bilād-i Hindūstān*).<sup>318</sup> In other copies, he introduces him as the above-mentioned “Pādirī Mī-Milād.”<sup>319</sup> In his introduction, ʿAlavī also mentions the Carmelite friars Juan Tadeo (“Pādrī Juvān”) and Próspero del Espíritu Santo, known as “Pādrī Priyū” (Padre Prior) among the Persians.<sup>320</sup> Próspero was elected prior of the convent in Isfahan on 23 July 1621, an office

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<sup>316</sup> ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʔ*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 116.

<sup>317</sup> On J. Xavier and his works, see Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire. Controversial Works and Missionary Activity*, Schöneck-Beckenried: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire, 1957; idem, “Persian Works of Jerome Javier, A Jesuit at the Mogul Court,” *Islamic Culture* 35/3 (1961): 166-176 (repr. in idem, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956-1998*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, 31-46); Jorge Flores, “Two Portuguese Visions of Jahangir’s India: Jerónimo Xavier and Manuel Godinho de Erédia,” in: idem and N. Vassallo e Silva, eds, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004: 44-67; Hugues Didier, “Muslim Heterodoxy, Persian *Murtaddun* and Jesuit Missionaries at the Court of King Akbar (1580-1605),” *Heythrop Journal* 49 (2008): 898-939; idem, “Jerónimo Javier, un navarro en la India,” in: V. Maurya and M. Insúa, eds, *Actas del I Congreso Ibero-asiático de Hispanistas Siglo de Oro e Hispanismo general (Delhi, 9-12 de noviembre, 2010)*, Pamplona: Publ. digit. del GRISO, 2011: 147-158; Jerónimo Xavier, *Mirʔāt al-quḍs (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar: A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier’s Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145*, ed. P. M. Carvalho, translated and annotated by W. M. Thackston, Leiden: Brill, 2012; Jorge Flores, *The Mughal Padshah: A Jesuit Treatise on Emperor Jahangir’s Court and Household*, Leiden: Brill, 2015.

<sup>318</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 2r:7-8; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 6v:7; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʔ*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 115:20-21.

<sup>319</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256, fol. 6r:4; Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 5r:11; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 5r:4-5.

<sup>320</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256, fol. 5v:8-10; Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 5r:4-6; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 4v:7-9.

In his reports to Rome, Próspero refers to himself as “Padre Prior” (see, e.g. Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma*). On the Carmelite friars, see above, Chapter 2.

that he held until his departure in September 1624.<sup>321</sup> Both friars are also mentioned in °Alavī’s *Risāla dar radd-i dībāja [sic!] ka °ālim-i Naṣārā ka muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Āṣṣna-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba°d az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Āṣṣna-ash*.<sup>322</sup> We might speculate, perhaps, that °Alavī had met the two Carmelites in person.

J. Xavier’s abridged version of *Āṣṣna-yi ḥaqq-numā* contains four chapters (Pers. *faṣl*), which discuss the essence of God (Pers. *zāt-i Īzīd*), the truth of ‘our God’ Jesus (Pers. *ḥaqq-i °Īsā khudāvand-i mā*), the ordinances of the Gospel (Pers. *aḥkām-i Injīl*), and the divine succor (Pers. *i°ānat-i īzīdī*). The Persian text from which °Alavī extensively quotes in *Miṣqal-i ṣafā°* is a translation/adaptation of the original Spanish work *Fuente de Vida* (“Source of Life”), which was completed in 1609 CE.<sup>323</sup> J. Xavier presented a copy of *Āṣṣna-yi ḥaqq-numā* to the Mughal ruler Jahāngīr (r. 1014/1605-1037/1627). He also “sent a copy to the Shāh of Persia” (Span. *i embiò copia al Rey de Persia*).<sup>324</sup>

In Isfahan, a manuscript copy of the abridgment of *Āṣṣna-yi ḥaqq-numā* entered the library of the Carmelite friars. Próspero del Espíritu Santo relates that “a Muslim scholar” (Span. *un Sacerdote Mahometano muy docto*), who had read “rhetoric and other arts” (Span. *Retórica y otras Artes*) for twenty years, used to come to the convent to teach the friars Arabic grammar.<sup>325</sup> When the anonymous Shī°ī scholar saw the copy of *Āṣṣna-yi ḥaqq-numā* in

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<sup>321</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256, fol. 5v:8-10; Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F (°aksī), fol. 5r:4-6; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 4v:7-9. For the date of Próspero’s election, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:995; Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*, xv.

<sup>322</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 4:14; 5:16 (appendix).

<sup>323</sup> See Jerónimo Xavier, *Fuente de Vida: Tratado Apologético dirigido al Rey Mogol de la India en 1600*, ed. H. Didier, Donostia-San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 2007.

<sup>324</sup> Antonio de León, *Epítome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, náutica i geográfica*, Madrid: Juan González, 1629, 42.

<sup>325</sup> For the following, see Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma de la historia de los sucessos de la misión de Persia de los Carmelitas Descalços, desde el año de 1621 hasta el de 1624*, Madrid: la Viuda de Alonso

the convent, he began reading it and asked the Carmelites if he could borrow the book. The friars allowed him to make a copy of the text, which he brought to his Shī'ī co-religionists. The result was, as Próspero states, that “another book was composed among [the Muslims] in refutation of ours” (Span. *y entre ellos fue compuesto otro libro en refutación del nuestro*). This Shī'ī refutation of *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* was °Alavī's *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*. It is extant in twenty-five manuscript copies known so far, dated between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century.<sup>326</sup>

Próspero del Espíritu Santo further relates that the Carmelites provided the unidentified “Muslim scholar” access to various biblical books, in particular the Pentateuch and the Gospels, all of them written in Arabic translation. These books were part of the private library of the friars in Isfahan. While the identity of the Arabic version of the Pentateuch remains unclear, it is very likely that the Gospels were available in the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. Próspero states as follows: “The scholar who taught in our house was given by the Fathers the five books of Moses in Arabic language in order to produce a copy of them, as well as the holy Gospels in order to translate them into

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Martín, 1626, 4v (repr. in Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*: 145-175, Chap. 6.3, here 162-164, nos 19, 20); idem, “Relationi delle cose più notabili successe nella nostra missione di Persia dall'anno 1621 fino a questo presente 1624,” in: Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*: 68-107, Chap. 6.1, here 104, no. 27; idem, “Compendio delle cose più notabile successe nella nostra Missione di Persia dal anno 1621 fin a questo presente 1625,” in: Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*: 176-196, Chap. 6.4, here 187-189, nos 19, 20. See also Fernando Díaz Esteban, “Informe de una misión carmelita en Persia de 1621 a 1624,” in: J. M. Blázquez, *Persia y España en el diálogo de las civilizaciones: Historia, religión, cultura*, Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2002: 185-198, here 193-194.

<sup>326</sup> For details, see below, Appendix 2.

Persian.”<sup>327</sup> This Persian translation of the Gospels was thus most likely based on the Vatican revision of the Arabic Vulgate printed by the Medici Oriental Press.

The Carmelites, however, were badly disappointed when their Muslim teacher refused to show them his Persian translation of the Gospels. As Próspero relates, he feared the friars would burn the text.<sup>328</sup> Although this Persian version of the Gospels has not been identified until today due to a lack of research on the extant manuscripts, Próspero’s report gives a strong indication that a Persian translation of the Gospels made by a Shī‘ī scholar on the basis of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate circulated among Shī‘ī Muslims in Isfahan in the early 1620s. We might speculate that ‘Alavī drew on this translation, when he adduced the numerous Persian citations from the Gospels in his anti-Christian treatises.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> “Al Sacerdote que leía en nuestra casa le dieron los Padres los cinco libros de Moyses en lengua Arabica, para que hiziesse una copia, y tambien los santos Euangelios, para que dellos hiziesse una translacion en Persiano” (Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma*, 4v). See also idem, “Relationi delle cose più notabili successe,” 105, no. 28.

<sup>328</sup> See Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma*, 4v; idem, “Relationi delle cose più notabili successe,” 105, no. 28.

<sup>329</sup> For ‘Alavī’s citations from the Gospels, as found in *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā‘*, see below, Appendix 5.

### 3.2 The Anti-Christian Persian Works *Lavāmi<sup>ʿ</sup>-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ʿ</sup>*

In his refutations of Christianity ʿAlavī’s critique focuses on the core of Christian belief, namely the ‘unity’ of Jesus with God-Father, as illustrated in the Gospel accounts. Christians are convinced that God revealed himself in Jesus, who is designated in the Gospel as the Christ/Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man, and other titles. When Jesus was no longer present physically, the ‘Spirit of God’, the so-called Holy Spirit, was believed to be among the Christians. In the first centuries, theologians were challenged to clarify the relationship between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the so-called three hypostases, and the ‘divinity’ and humanity of Jesus Christ.<sup>330</sup>

Like other Muslim scholars, ʿAlavī regards the Christian concept of the divinity of Jesus as inconsistent with the principles of logic. ʿAlavī’s thinking is based on a distinct separation between God’s necessary existence as the origin of all being and the created world. He argues that the Christian concept of the triune Godhead contradicts God’s oneness (Pers. *aḥadiyyat*) and his necessary being by virtue of itself (Pers. *qayyūm-i vājib bi-l-zāt*).<sup>331</sup> Since God is characterized by the “furthest degree of immateriality and transcendency” (Pers. *dar aqṣā-yi marātib-i tajarrud va-quṣvā-yi darajāt-i tanazzuh*), the human attributes of Jesus described in the Gospels (e.g. his being tempted by Satan, his praying to the Father) are

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<sup>330</sup> For the history of doctrinal controversies, see, e.g. Michael Fiedrowicz, *Theologie der Kirchenväter. Grundlagen frühchristlicher Glaubensreflexion*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2010.

<sup>331</sup> See chapters one and two of ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 117-155. For a discussion of the philosophical principles, see Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna’s Philosophical Works*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. and enl. ed., Leiden: Brill, 2014.

considered irreconcilable with the simple and uncompounded essence of God.<sup>332</sup> Our Shī'ī scholar concludes: “God *is* no body and he neither *has* a body [my italics]” (Pers. *Khudā jism nīst va-ham jism na-dārad*).<sup>333</sup> To °Alavī, no unity of the necessary being (‘God’) and the contingent being (‘man’) is possible.

Alongside his philosophical argument, °Alavī adduced biblical (and pseudo-biblical) citations and paraphrases both from the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and from the New Testament, through which he seeks to demonstrate the inconsistency of the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption. The passages from the Gospels are referenced according to the Coptic chapter divisions of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. Like earlier Muslim polemicists, °Alavī attempts to demonstrate internal and external contradictions regarding the testimonies of the Gospels about Jesus’s ‘divinity’, whether stated within the same Gospel, between the four Gospels or in their relationship to the Pentateuch.<sup>334</sup> Regardless of the classification of alleged inconsistencies, our Shī'ī scholar proceeded in his argument with a literal approach to the Bible.

To give a few examples of contradictions within or between the Gospels, °Alavī contrasts the title “Son of Man” (Pers. *pīsar-i insān*) in Matthew, Coptic chapters 27 and 39 (=Matthew 10:23; 13:41-42a) with statements that designate Jesus as “God” (Pers. *Khudā*; cf.

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<sup>332</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 3r:14-16; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 9r:1-6; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 9r:10-9v:2; °Alavī, *Mīşqal-i şafā*, ed. İşfahānī, 120:17-19.

<sup>333</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 3v:8; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 10r:1-2; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 10r:2-3; °Alavī, *Mīşqal-i şafā*, ed. İşfahānī, 121:5-6.

<sup>334</sup> I have benefited from the classification of inconsistencies proposed by Samuel M. Behloul, “The Testimony of Reason and Historical Reality: Ibn Ḥazm’s Refutation of Christianity,” in: Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*: 457-483, here 474.

John 1:18).<sup>335</sup> He also contrasts differences between the narratives such as the events following the death of Jesus.<sup>336</sup> While Matthew, Coptic chapters 36 and 51 (=Matthew 12:40; 16:21), as well as Luke, Coptic chapters 34 and 86 (=Luke 9:22; 24:7), relate that Jesus was buried “for three days and three nights” before he rose from the dead “on the third day,” other verses imply that he remained in the grave only from Friday evening till Sunday morning (cf. Mark, Coptic chapter 54 [=Mark 16:2]; Matthew, Coptic chapter 100 [=Matthew 28:1]; Luke, Coptic chapter 86 [=Luke 24:1]; John, Coptic chapters 43 and 44 [=John 20:1, 19]).<sup>337</sup> °Alavī concludes from such inconsistencies that the “Gospels have been altered” (Pers. *mutaghayyir būdan-i Anājīl*) and, hence, do not contain the ‘word of God’.<sup>338</sup>

Regarding the external contradictions of the Gospels in relationship to the Pentateuch, °Alavī refers, *inter alia*, to Matthew, Coptic chapters 4 and 8 (=Matthew 2:17, 23; 5:18), in which the fulfillment of the sayings of the prophets and the accomplishment of the

<sup>335</sup> To give an example, in Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 3r:5-7, the Persian version of Matthew 10:23 reads as follows (the original Arabic verse is indicated in square brackets; see *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*, 47:5-7):

و باز در فصل بیست و هفتم انجیل متی واقعت که مسیح پسر انسان [است] و باز در فصل سی و نهم این انجیل واقعت که مسیح فرموده که: {پسر انسان ملائکه خود را خواهد فرستاد تا جمع نمایند کناهان مردمانرا و در آتش بسوزانند} [الفصل التاسع والثلاثون: {یرسل ابن الإنسان ملائکته ویجمعون من مملکتہ کلّ الشکوک وفاعلی الإثم فیلقونہم فی اتون النار}].

<sup>336</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 196-197.

<sup>337</sup> To give an example, in Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 37v:9-12, the Persian version of Matthew 12:40 reads as follows (the original Arabic verse is indicated in square brackets; see *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*, 42:9-11):

در فصل سی و ششم انجیل متی [واقع است] که مسیح فرمود: {چنانچه یونس در شکم ماهی شبانه روز بوده است من نیز که پسر انسانم سه شبانه روز در شکم زمین خواهم بود} [الفصل السادس والثلاثون: {یونان النبی كما کان فی بطن الحوت ثلاثة انهر وثلث لیل کذلک یكون ابن الإنسان فی قلب الأرض ثلاثة انهر وثلث لیل}].

<sup>338</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 38r:5-7; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 141r:2-5; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg, pers. 5, fol. 98v:1-4; °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 197:11-12. See also °Alavī, “*Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*,” ed. Sa<sup>c</sup>id, 104-106, 122-123.



‘Law of Moses’ are demanded.<sup>339</sup> He then adduced several ordinances of the Pentateuch, which are partly rejected by or not followed in Jesus’s statements in the Gospels, among them dietary laws, laws of ritual purity, laws regarding polygamy and divorce, as well as the laws for the Sabbath. ʿAlavī concluded that “all these final ordinances contradict the religion of the Gospel” (Pers. *kull in aḥkām-i nihāyat mukhālifat bā dīn-i Injīl dārad*).<sup>340</sup> He reasoned that the ordinances of the Gospels are “not lawful” (Pers. *ravā nīst*) but “mere lies” (Pers. *kizb-i širf*).<sup>341</sup> To ʿAlavī, any inconsistency between the statements of Jesus and Jewish law is evidence for the alleged corruption of the Gospels.

As it is known, Muslim scholars throughout the centuries had an ambiguous attitude towards the Bible of the Jews and the Christians, mainly resulting from the qurʿānic conception of divine revelation in the Scriptures.<sup>342</sup> While ʿAlavī based his argument upon the Gospels, he nevertheless accused the Christians of having tampered with what he believed to be the (single) Gospel (Pers. *Injīl*) originally given to Jesus. He stated as follows: “After Jesus had left the earth to ascend to heaven, most of the chapters of the Gospel disappeared among [his followers]” (Pers. *baʿd az ānki Masīḥ az iqlīm-i khāk ba awj-i samāk-i aflāk raft akṣar-i fuṣūl-i Injīl dar miyāna mafqūd gardīd*).<sup>343</sup> According to ʿAlavī, this affected in particular the biblical “testimonies” to Muḥammad, the ‘Paraclete’, of which only a few have remained in

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<sup>339</sup> See ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 205, 216.

<sup>340</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 41v (margin, below); Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 158r:8-9; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 110r:8-9; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 207:1-2.

<sup>341</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fols 41v:17-42r:2; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 159r:2-6; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 110v:8-11; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 207:11-13.

<sup>342</sup> See David Thomas, “Gospel, Muslim conception of,” in: EI<sup>3</sup> (online edition).

<sup>343</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 22v:13-14; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 79r:6-8; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 57r:3-5; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 163:8-9. See also *ibid.*, 171-172.

the text. Since the Gospels were written after the death of Jesus, °Alavī considers them distorted and, to a certain extent, unreliable.

Yet, the alleged Christian alteration of the Gospels did not prevent °Alavī from identifying Muḥammad with the Paraclete of John (cf. 14:26; 15:26; 16:7-8), one of the most common arguments by Muslim polemicists.<sup>344</sup> In °Alavī's anti-Christian works, the argument on the Paraclete plays a prominent role, too.<sup>345</sup> It is even visualized in *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>3</sup> in “circles of prophethood” (Pers. sing. *dā'ira-yi nubuvvat*), which depict Muḥammad, the ‘Paraclete’, in the midst of God and Imām °Alī.<sup>346</sup> As we see in Figure 6, Muḥammad and °Alī lead the biblical and non-biblical prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Jesus, as well as the twelve imāms. °Alavī thus emphasized the continuity of revelation, from the earliest prophets to Muḥammad and the imāms, in order to authenticate the message of Islam. Similar prophetic genealogies, in which Jesus Christ is depicted at the center of the circle, also appear in Christian missionary works in Persian, dating from the early seventeenth century.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> For details, see Timo Güzelmansur, ed., *Hat Jesus Muhammad angekündigt? Der Paraklet des Johannesevangeliums und seine koranische Bedeutung*, Regensburg: Pustet, 2012.

<sup>345</sup> See °Alavī, “*Lavāmi'ī-rabbānī*,” ed. Sa'īd, 22-24; idem, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 178-181. To give an example, in Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 31r:8-10, the Persian version of John 14:26 reads as follows (the original Arabic verse is indicated in square brackets; see *al-Injil al-muqaddas*, 346:1-2):

و باز در فصل سی و چهارم ازین انجیل [یوحنا] واقع است که: {فَارْقَلِیْطُ رُوحِ الْقُدْسِیْسْتِ کِه پدِرم او را اِرسال خواهد کرد بنام من و تعلیم خواهد نمود جمیع خیرها را بواسطه شما و خواهد بود که بیاد آورد جمیع آنچه‌یزی که شما را گفته‌ام} [الفصل الرابع والثلاثون: {والفارقلیط روح القدس الذي يرسله أیي باسمي هو يعلمکم کل شیء وهو یذکرکم کَلَمَا قَلْتَه لکم}].

<sup>346</sup> Among the manuscripts that comprise the two circles are Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fols 59v-60r; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fols 252r-253r; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fols 172v-174r. See also °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 268-269.

<sup>347</sup> See Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, page before 351 (without pagination).



Figure 6. Mashhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 60r (detail), Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī’s

“circle of prophethood”, © Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds.

In general, ʿAlavī’s polemical argument resembles that of Sunnī authors of refutations of Christianity. Its particular Imāmī tone appears, for instance, in the identification of the twelve imāms with Ismāʿīl’s twelve descendants in Genesis 25:13b-15 (or 1 Chronicles 1:29-31).<sup>348</sup> This passage is closely related to the previously discussed Imāmī exegesis of Genesis 17:20. The biblical list of Ismāʿīl’s descendants frequently appears in Shīʿī works, the earliest of which date from the tenth century.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>348</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 34v:13-14; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 126r:5-7; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 88v:7-9; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 189:5-7.

<sup>349</sup> See Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, ed. F. Ḥassūn Karīm, Qum: Anwār al-Hudā, 1422/[2001-02], 108; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Jawharī, *Muqtaḍab al-athar fī l-naṣṣ ʿalā l-aʿimmat al-ithnay ʿashar*, ed. H. al-Rasūlī l-Maḥallātī, Qum: Ṭabāṭabāʾī, n.d., 27-29; Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn

In another list adduced in *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* (and later copied into *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>*), which differs from the one preserved in the Bible, we read, instead of Nebaioth – the firstborn son of Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl, the name of the Prophet Elijah.<sup>350</sup> He is identified in <sup>c</sup>Alavī’s “circles of prophethood” with the first imām, <sup>c</sup>Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Regarding the two varying lists of Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl’s descendants, our Shī<sup>c</sup>ī scholar maintains that the textual difference is the result of the “difference between the copies of the Pentateuch and the remaining scrolls of the prophets” (Pers. *ikhtilāf-i nusakh-i kitāb-i Tawrāt va-sāyir-i ṣuḥuf-i anbiyā*).<sup>351</sup> It is more likely, however, that <sup>c</sup>Alavī accessed different Shī<sup>c</sup>ī intermediary sources, from which he reproduced the varying lists. As shown elsewhere, this was also the case regarding other verses from the Hebrew Bible, which <sup>c</sup>Alavī incorporated from collections of biblical announcements of Muḥammad that circulated among Shī<sup>c</sup>ī scholars for centuries.<sup>352</sup>

In contrast to the Jewish Scriptures, our author directly accessed the Gospels through a Persian translation made from the “official” Arabic version authorized by the Vatican. He closely analyzed the Roman Arabic Vulgate, identified textual differences between the four Gospels as well as in relationship to other biblical books, and sought to offer a complete picture of inconsistencies in form and content. The citations from the Gospels, most of which are statements attributed to Jesus (e.g. the Sermon on the Mount, the Missionary Discourse,

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Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3 vols, ed. Lajna min asātidhat al-Najaf, Najaf: al-Ḥaydariyya, 1376/[1956], 1:259; <sup>c</sup>Alī ibn Yūnus al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilā mustaḥiqqī l-taqdīm*, 3 vols, ed. M. al-Bāqir al-Bahbūdī, Tih-rān: al-Murtaḍawiyya, 1384/[1964-65], 2:141-142; Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 36:223-224.

<sup>350</sup> For *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*, see Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83, fol. 15v:2-4; Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. <sup>c</sup>A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, fol. 8v:6-7 (and margin); <sup>c</sup>Alavī, “*Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*,” ed. Sa<sup>c</sup>īd, 29:2-3.

For *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>*, see Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 35r (margin); Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 127r:1-4; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 89r:10-11; <sup>c</sup>Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 189:16-19.

<sup>351</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 35r:3; Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fol. 126v:6-7; Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 89r:5-6; <sup>c</sup>Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 189:13.

<sup>352</sup> See Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations.”

the Parabolic Discourse, the Discourse on the Church, the Discourse on the End Times, the teaching about divorce, the promise of the Advocate) or related to his conflict with the Jews, are striking for their number and variety of reference. °Alavī's repertoire of verses quoted or paraphrased from the Gospels goes beyond the one of earlier Muslim polemicists against Christianity. The availability of printed copies of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate imported by missionaries to Isfahan certainly facilitated the access of Shī'ī scholars to the Gospels and their study of these texts.

Given the wide dissemination of manuscript copies of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṣ</sup>* in Iran and their reproduction up to the nineteenth century, it is not unusual that later authors, such as the above-mentioned Āqā Muḥammad °Alī Bihbihānī Kirmānshāhī, drew on °Alavī's treatises. It would not be surprising either if future research should identify more Shī'ī polemicists who used *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* and/or *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṣ</sup>* as a source to reproduce biblical verses. In addition, a study of the hundreds of extant Persian Bible manuscripts may result in the identification of the Persian translation of the Gospels made from the Roman Arabic Vulgate by an unnamed Shī'ī scholar, on which °Alavī most likely relied. In order to facilitate such research on the Imāmī reception of Gospel material in Persian, a list of °Alavī's citations from the Gospels is offered in Appendix, 5.

### 3.3 °Alavī's Persian Refutations of Christianity in the Vatican

In contrast to many anti-Christian works that have been written by Muslim authors in the long history of interreligious exchanges, °Alavī's polemics met with response by the highest ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>353</sup> After the completion of *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ*, °Alavī presented a copy of his polemical work, signed by him, to the Carmelites in Isfahan for the purpose of forwarding it to Rome. The manuscript that was presented to the friars between the end of 1622 and September 1624 is preserved today in Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fols 5r-174v.<sup>354</sup> It bears several undated seal impressions of the *Propaganda Fide*.<sup>355</sup> On fol. 4v, we read the following note, probably written by the prior of the convent of the Carmelites in Isfahan, Próspero del Espíritu Santo, to inform the Vatican about the circumstances of the composition of °Alavī's *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ*:

This book was written by a group of scholars from Persia under the name of a *sayyid* [=Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī], a descendant of Muḥammad, in opposition to the Christian religion. It is directed against another book by the Jesuit Fathers in eastern India entitled *Specchio che mostra il vero* [=J. Xavier's *Āʿīna-yi ḥaqq-numā*]. The aforementioned *sayyid* gave it to the Discalced Carmelite Fathers to inform His Holiness [=the pope] about the book and to ask him for a reply.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> See the report of the secretary of the *Propaganda Fide*, Francesco Ingoli, in his *Relazione*, 114-115, 285-286.

<sup>354</sup> For details, see below, Appendix 2.

<sup>355</sup> See Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fols 5v; 86v; 175r.

<sup>356</sup> “Questo libro è fatto da una Congregat.[io]<sup>ne</sup> di huomini dotti della Persia sotto nome di un Principe discendente da Maoma in confutatione della Religione Christiana pigliando motivo di confutare un altro libro fatto dalli Padri Giesuiti nell'Indie orientali intitolato *Specchio che mostra il vero*, et il detto Principe l'hà dato alli Padri Carmelitani Scalzi perchè lo dijno à S.[ua] S.[anti]<sup>ta</sup> et li mandi risposta” (Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 4v).

In another report, Próspero del Espíritu Santo confirms that Persian scholars in Isfahan “sent [their refutation of *Āʿīna-yi ḥaqq-numā*] to the Father Prior in order to forward it to Rome to His Holiness, of whom they expect a response” (Span. *el qual embiaron al Padre Prior para que le embiasse a Roma a su*

In September 1624, when Próspero left Isfahan for Rome, he took MS Borg. pers. 5 along. In a letter written on his way to Europe and dated February 27, 1625, the Carmelite friar mentioned “the book composed by a Mulla against the Catholic Faith,” which he was carrying to Rome.<sup>357</sup> MS Borg. pers. 5 must have reached its destination, the *Propaganda Fide*, after Próspero’s arrival on 1 April 1625, but certainly before September of the same year.<sup>358</sup>

This is suggested by a letter of the Spanish prelate Juan Bautista Vives (1545-1632) to the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation, in which he mentioned a Muslim refutation of Christianity from Persia that had been discussed by a pontifical commission of theologians shortly before 5 September 1625.<sup>359</sup> It is confirmed by Próspero’s report, in which he states that “His Holiness has established a congregation of experts in Rome, specifically to respond to this book [= ‘Alavī’s *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’]” (Span. *y su Santidad ha hecho una Congregación de hombres doctos en Roma solo para responder a este libro*).<sup>360</sup> As a result, members of the commission composed refutations of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>2</sup> in Latin, which were published in Rome.

While the work of the Conventual Franciscan Bonaventura Malvasia (1598-1666) was considered insufficient by the Vatican (but nevertheless printed), *Apologia pro christiana religione* by Filippo Guadagnoli (1596-1656), a member of the Order of the Clerics Regular

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*Santidad, del qual esperan respuesta*). See Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma*, 4v. See also Antonio de León, *Epítome*, 42; Díaz Esteban, “Informe de una misión carmelita,” 194.

<sup>357</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:265, 2:996. My previous assumption that Próspero del Espíritu Santo took a copy of ‘Alavī’s *Lavāmi*<sup>c</sup>-*i rabbānī* along (see Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 316) has to be corrected.

<sup>358</sup> For the date of Próspero’s arrival in Rome, see Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*, xx.

<sup>359</sup> See Josef Metzler, “Die verschollene S. Congregatio ‘de Tuenda Fide’ und ein mißglückter Bischofsrat im 17. Jahrhundert,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 23 (1967): 40-45, esp. 41-42.

<sup>360</sup> Próspero del Espíritu Santo, *Breve suma*, 4v. See also Zubizarreta, *Próspero del Espíritu Santo*, 173-174, no. 30; Díaz Esteban, “Informe de una misión carmelita,” 196.

Minor, met with approval.<sup>361</sup> Guadagnoli's vindication of Christianity was later translated from the Latin into Arabic and disseminated by missionaries in the Middle East.<sup>362</sup> In various anti-Christian treatises in Persian dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Guadagnoli is still referenced by the Shī'ī authors.<sup>363</sup>

During their first meeting in 1625 CE, the members of the newly formed pontifical commission, the so-called Congregation for the Protection of the Faith (*Congregatio de Tuenda Fide*), had access to a translation of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, probably into Italian.<sup>364</sup> As ḥAlavī relates, the Carmelites in Isfahan had translated the anti-Christian treatise "into their own language" (Pers. *bi-zabān-i khūd*).<sup>365</sup> An Italian translation of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* made from the copy that was given to the friars, Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, is extant in three undated

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<sup>361</sup> For the printed editions, see Bonaventura Malvasia, *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis in qua instruitur in fide christiana Hamet filius Zin Elabedin in regno Persarum princeps*, Romae: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1628; Filippo Guadagnoli, *Apologia pro christiana religione qua a R.P. Philippo Guadagnolo Malleanensi (...), respondetur ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahensis, contentas in libro inscripto*, Romae: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1631.

On the authors, see Dario Busolini, "Malvasia, Bonaventura," in: DBI, 68 (2007): 295-296; Zacarias Remiro Andollu, "Un saggio bilingue, latino e arabo, di controversia islamo-cristiana nella Roma del sec. XVII," *Euntes docete* 22 (1969): 453-480; idem, "La Sagrada Congregación," 723-726; Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e Della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo," *Studi Medievali e Moderni* 14 (2010): 245-278; Andrea Trentini, "Il caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo: Un'analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l'Islam," *Studi Medievali e Moderni* 14 (2010): 297-314.

<sup>362</sup> For the Arabic translation, see Filippo Guadagnoli, *Pro christiana religione responsio ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahanensis: Ijābat [sic!] al-qasīs (...) ilā Aḥmad al-sharīf b. Zayn al-ḥAbidīn al-fārisī al-Isbahānī*, Romae: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1637 (a revision of the work was printed under the title *Considerationes ad Mahomettanos cum responsione ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin Persae Asphahanensis: Barāhīn mukhtalifa fī-mā huwa li-sharīḥat Allāh bi-l-ḥaqq ilā Aḥmad al-sharīf b. Zayn al-ḥAbidīn al-fārisī al-Isbahānī*, Romae: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1649).

<sup>363</sup> For details, see Halft, "Twelver Shī'ī Responses to the 'Accursed Father'"; idem, "Filippo Guadagnoli."

<sup>364</sup> On the commission and its members, see Metzler, "Die verschollene S. Congregatio," esp. 43; Remiro Andollu, "Un saggio bilingue," 463-465. See also Kleinhans, *Historia studii*, 62.

<sup>365</sup> ḥAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 5:17 (appendix).



manuscripts, all of which are preserved today in libraries in Rome.<sup>366</sup> Since the members of the pontifical commission were not satisfied with the quality of the translation, they sent for “a Persian scholar” (Ital. *un maomettano persiano molto letterato*) who arrived in Venice in early 1626.<sup>367</sup>

Apparently the same unidentified “Persian mullā” (Ital. *il mula persiano*) is mentioned in a letter by a certain Giacomo (Iacomo) Francesco Lova, written in Venice and dated 9 April 1626. Lova relates that the Persian visitor had brought along several “Arabic books” (Ital. *libri arabici*), which he was offering for sale.<sup>368</sup> Lova wrote his letter on the

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<sup>366</sup> The translation is entitled *Lustratore, ovvero Politore della politia, et purificatione dello Specchio che mostra il vero in confutatione della Religione delli Christiani*. Its three extant manuscripts are (i) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 310, 116 fols, the copy was in the possession of a certain Lisuius de Cavaleriis, before it was endowed to the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome in 1668 CE; (ii) Rome, BNCR, MS Ebor. 20, 163 fols; (iii) Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 541, 110 fols, with an undated note of the library of the Jesuit College in Rome.

For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Enrico Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, praeter graecos et orientales, in Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, vol. 1-, Roma: Ludovici Cecchini, 1893-, 1:167; Odulf Schäfer, “Descriptio codicum franciscalium in bibliotheca nationali centrali Romae asservatorum. Fondi minori: Codices olim in conventu Aracoeli O.F.M. asservati,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 24 (1954): 166-185, here 176, no. 1867; Elena Moneti et al., *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca casanatense*, vol. 1-, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1949-, 6:39.

In Biblioteca Angelica, MS 310, fol. 1r, and Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 541, fol. 1r, we read a slightly modified version of Próspero del Espíritu Santo’s note, as it appears in Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 4v: “Questo Libro è composto da una Congregatione d’homini dotti della Persia sotto nome d’un Prencipe Chiamato Hamet figlio di Zin Elabedin discendente da Maometto, in refutatione della Religione Christiana, sotto spetie di confutar un libro delli P[ad]ri Giesuiti nell’Indie Orientali intitolato *Specchio che mostra il vero*; et questo Prencipe diede questo libro alli P[ad]ri Carmelitani Scalzi che habitano in Haspahan, corte del Re di Persia perchè lo portassero a S.[ua] S.[anti]<sup>ta</sup> acciò li mandasse risposta.”

<sup>367</sup> The Persian scholar is said to have possessed another manuscript copy of ‘Alavī’s *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>2</sup>. See Vatican, APF, MS SOCG, 386, fols 157r; 163v; 243r; 244v; Metzler, “Die verschollene S. Congregatio,” 43-44.

<sup>368</sup> Giacomo Francesco Lova wrote the letter on behalf of the Persian scholar to an unidentified addressee. Unfortunately, the titles of the imported books are not mentioned. The letter is preserved in a codex of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>2</sup> (see San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555, fols 206r-207v [outer margin, partly erased]). The original Italian reads as follows (I thank Carlo Longo for his help in deciphering the script):

reverse side and in the margins of a fragment which consists of an excerpt from a hitherto unidentified Shīrī refutation of Christianity in Arabic.<sup>369</sup> In the text, Genesis 17:20 is quoted in an Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew in evidence of the advent of the twelve imāms.<sup>370</sup> It seems likely that the Arabic fragment is part of an anti-Christian work imported by the Persian scholar. The circumstances under which the fragment was later inserted into a copy of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*,<sup>2</sup> namely San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555, remain unknown.

MS Árabe 1555 was copied by the Franciscan linguist and missionary to Palestine Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (1588-1670).<sup>371</sup> After his return to Rome at the turn of the

“Il sig[no]<sup>r</sup> Mula presiano [mullā persiano] prega V[ostra] S[ignoria] et insieme li fa reverenza di mandarli la notte de i libri arabici. La potrà mandare al sig[no]<sup>r</sup> Giulio [al sig<sup>r</sup> Giulio: erased] i[llustri]ss[i]<sup>mo</sup> et re[verendissi]<sup>mo</sup> Nontio che la dia a que[s]<sup>o</sup> sig[no]<sup>r</sup>. Di ordine del sig[no]<sup>r</sup> Mula presiano, scrivo queste quatro parole, il quale saluta et fa reverentia alle [reverendissime] Sig[nori]e Loro, pregandoli a farli grati di mandarli una lista con notte de’ libri arabi, se costì ve ne sono, perché li vorebbe comprare, et dice bisog[nan]<sup>do</sup> alcuna cosa da lui faciano motto a me o a Monsig[no]<sup>r</sup> Nontio, che lui sarà p[r]onti[s]simo a servirli, et io Iacomo Fran[ces]<sup>co</sup> Lova, che mi offerisco humil[issi]<sup>mo</sup> servo a tutte le Sig[no]rie Sue re[verendissi]<sup>me</sup>. Di Venetia gli 9 Aprile 1626.”

<sup>369</sup> In San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555, fols 206v:1-207v:9, the excerpt in Arabic reads as follows (the original Hebrew verse is indicated in square brackets):

يا معشر النصارى إن انتم تريدون ان تسمعوا [ا] عبارة التوریه بعینها فی اثبات نبوة محمد فهي قوله تعالى بلغة العبري في سفر البريشيت من أسفار التوریه: {وَأُولَٰئِكَ سَمِعْتِمْهَا هُنَّ بِيْرَائِحَتِي أُثِي وَهَفْرِي أُثِي وَهَرَبِي أُثِي بِمُؤَدِّ مُؤَدِّ سَنَمَ عَشْرَ نَسِيْمِ بُرَيْدِ أَتْنَا بِوِ الْقَوِي كَادُلْ} [وَأُولَٰئِكَ سَمِعْتِمْهَا هُنَّ بِيْرَائِحَتِي أُثِي وَهَفْرِي أُثِي وَهَرَبِي أُثِي بِمُؤَدِّ مُؤَدِّ سَنَمَ عَشْرَ نَسِيْمِ بُرَيْدِ أَتْنَا بِوِ الْقَوِي كَادُلْ] يَزِيدِ وَنَتَانِي لَدُنِي إِدْوَلْ} [ فعند الخبير الفطن ظاهر وبين وعند الجبر الملي واضح وجلي أن يشماعل في لغة العبري عبارة عن اسماعيل ابن ابراهيم الخليل وبمؤد مؤد عبارة عن محمد فهو الذي قدره جليل وبره جليل وينتهي [كذا] سلسلة نسبه الي اسماعيل وسنم عَشْرَ نَسِيْمِ بُرَيْدِ عبارة عن اولاد امجاده وهم ائمة الاثنا عشر في الحقيقة الفصل النبيل وكلما وقع في التوریه من الايات البيئات في شانہ وقع على وجه التعظيم والتبجيل فلذلك الوصف الجميل لقلب الاذكاء اليه تهوى وتميل وطير قلب العارف البر الخبير في هواء ولانه يطير وفي بر وده بجده يسعى ويسير ليلتقط من حب حبه وبر بره والسلام على من اتبع الهدى والله كاشف ضره فيا من عسر عليك الوقوف على حقايق لغت [كذا] العجم والعثور على دقايق ما يرمزون في محاوراتهم من النكت بعد ما هجم فاني خضت في بحر تحقيق لغته وغضت في معاص تدقيق نكته واستخرجت لك دُررًا وغررًا من لطايف الحكم فخذ ما تقر به عينك إذا ترى ثم نم.

<sup>370</sup> On Alavī's use of Genesis 17:20, see Half, "Hebrew Bible Quotations," 237-238, 241, 246.

<sup>371</sup> On him, see Kleinmans, *Historia studii*, 75-87, no. 4; GCAL, 4:176-178; Francis Richard, "Le Franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silésie: Grammaire et auteur d'apologie en persan," *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984):

year 1634/35 CE, Dominicus worked for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In 1636, he began to teach Arabic at the Franciscan language school of San Pietro in Montorio (*Sancti Petri in Monte Aureo*), founded by his teacher and confrere Tommaso Obicini da Novara (1585-1632).<sup>372</sup> Between 1647 and 1651, Dominicus sojourned in Isfahan, where he copied several manuscripts preserved today in the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial near Madrid.<sup>373</sup> Dominicus is mostly known for his Arabic, Persian, and Turkish grammar books and dictionaries. In addition, between 1650 and 1669, he translated the Qurʾān into Latin.<sup>374</sup>

During the second half of the 1630s, when Dominicus taught Arabic in Rome, he organized and presided over public debates for the purpose of training prospective missionaries for disputations with Muslim scholars.<sup>375</sup> For this purpose, the linguist relied on collections of biblical “testimonies” to the prophethood of Muḥammad, which were reproduced in a Shīʿī refutation of Christianity in Arabic (similar to the above-mentioned

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91-107, esp. 92; Hartmut Bobzin, “Ein oberschlesischer Koranglehrter: Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, O.F.M. (1588-1670),” in: G. Kosellek, ed., *Die oberschlesische Literaturlandschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2001: 221-231; Angelo M. Piemontese, “The Emergence of Persian Grammar and Lexicography in Rome,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 83 (2010): 399-415, esp. 411.

<sup>372</sup> On him, see Giovanni-Claudio Bottini, “Tommaso Obicini (1585-1632), Custos of the Holy Land and Orientalist,” in: A. O’Mahony, G. Gunner, and K. Hintlian, eds, *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995: 97-101; Claudio Balzaretto, “Padre Tommaso Obicini: un mediatore nel vicino Oriente all’inizio del Seicento,” *Novarien* 32 (2003): 183-190; Alessandro Vanoli, “Obicini, Giovanni Battista,” in: DBI, 79 (2013): 57-59. On the Franciscan language school, see Pizzorusso, “Les écoles de langue arabe,” 69-70.

<sup>373</sup> For details, see Richard, “Le Franciscain.”

<sup>374</sup> See Antonio García Masegosa, “La Prefacio de la traducción latina del Corán de Germán de Silesia,” *Faventia* 27 (2005): 121-131; idem, *Germán de Silesia. Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis. Parte 1: la traducción latina, introducción y edición crítica*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009.

<sup>375</sup> See *Antitheses Fidei Ventilabuntur in Conuentu S. Petri Montis Aurei Fratrum Minorum S. P. Francisci Reformat.*, Romae: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1638, 0-4. For the participants of the debate, see *ibid.*, 0-1 (Arab.).

fragment, in which Genesis 17:20 appears). This collection of scriptural verses was published by the *Propaganda Fide* in 1638 CE in Arabic as well as in a Latin translation.<sup>376</sup> The *imprimatur* was granted by the Master of the Sacred Palace, after consulting with two professors of Philosophy and Theology in Rome, one of them being the well-known Maronite scholar Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī, 1605-64).<sup>377</sup>

The printed text, entitled *Antitheses fidei* and dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), was based on an unidentified manuscript copy brought to Rome.<sup>378</sup> As suggested in the dedication, the textual *Vorlage* for the print was “among those writings and letters sent [by the Muslim *sayyids*] to this venerable city [of Rome]” (Lat. *ex illis scripturae et epistolae missae ad hanc Almam Urbem*; Arab. *minhā ṣafāʾiḥ wa-risālāt [sic!] mabʿūtha ilā hādhihi l-madīna al-sharīfa*).<sup>379</sup> The manuscript may have been brought along by Próspero del Espíritu Santo in 1625 or imported, together with other “Arabic books,” by the previously mentioned unidentified Persian scholar a year later. Be it as it may, the Shīʿī provenance of the collection of verses is beyond doubt.

The text is addressed to a Christian audience (Arab. *yā maʿāshir al-Naṣārā*). The compiler quotes five biblical and pseudo-biblical passages in Arabic, given here in order of appearance: Deuteronomy 33:2 (followed by a detailed Muslim interpretation of the verse), Isaiah 66:20(?), Habakkuk 3:3ff.(?), Isaiah 21:7(?), and another spurious quotation attributed

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<sup>376</sup> On the work, see Kleinhans, *Historia studii*, 81, no. 3; GCAL, 4:177, c; Remiro Andollu, “La Sagrada Congregación,” 716, 721.

<sup>377</sup> For the *imprimatur*, see *Antitheses Fidei*, 0. On Abraham Ecchellensis, see GCAL, 3:354-359; Heyberger, *Orientalisme, science et controverse*; idem, “L’Islam et les arabes chez un érudit maronite au service de l’église catholique (Abraham Ecchellensis),” *al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010): 481-512; Reza Pourjavady, “The World-Revealing Cup by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī and its Latin Translations” (forthcoming).

<sup>378</sup> On him, see Alberto Merola, “Barberini, Francesco,” in: DBI, 6 (1964): 172-176.

<sup>379</sup> *Antitheses Fidei*, 0-7 (Arab.), 0-5 (Lat.). See also the headline by the editor in *ibid.*, 2 (Arab.), 3 (Lat.).

to Isaiah.<sup>380</sup> In Deuteronomy 33:2, the word “the light” (Arab. *al-nūr*) that is coming from Mount Sinai instead of God himself was interpolated (as it often appears in Shīʿī works apparently for the purpose of avoiding anthropomorphism).<sup>381</sup> A comparison between *Antitheses fidei* and ʿAlavī’s *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī* shows that the biblical and pseudo-biblical citations from the Hebrew Scriptures in Arabic, including their interpretation in the original Arabic and in ʿAlavī’s Persian adaptation, are largely identical.<sup>382</sup>

It is thus reasonable to suppose that the Arabic manuscript brought to Italy and printed in Rome (or another copy of the work that remained in Iran) was used by ʿAlavī as a source for the compilation of *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*.<sup>383</sup> He relied on at least two different Shīʿī collections of biblical and pseudo-biblical “testimonies” to Muḥammad, from which he copied passages from the Jewish Scriptures in Arabic translation as well as in the original Hebrew transcribed in Perso-Arabic script into his Persian refutations of Christianity.<sup>384</sup> Although no manuscript copy of such a Shīʿī *florilegium* has been identified so far, lists of biblical material in Arabic translation circulated among scholars in Persia, were integrated into polemical works, and thus became widely available to Shīʿī audiences.

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<sup>380</sup> A similar list of biblical and pseudo-biblical material, which includes Deuteronomy 33:2, Isaiah 21:7(?), and Habakkuk 3:3ff.(?) in the same Arabic translation, is already to be found in Shīʿī works dating from the tenth century. See Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2 vols, ed. Ḥ. al-Aʿlamī, Bayrūt: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1404/1984, 1:148.

<sup>381</sup> For details, see Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations,” 237, n. 9.

<sup>382</sup> Compare *Antitheses Fidei*, 2, 4, with Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83, fols 13r:5-13v:9; 13v:11-14v:7; Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. ʿA. Rawżātī, MS without shelfmark, fol. 7v:3-8r:8 (partly erased, with margins); ʿAlavī, “*Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*,” ed. Saʿīd, 27:8-28:9.

<sup>383</sup> It is also possible that Dominicus Germanus translated an excerpt of ʿAlavī’s *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī* from the Persian into Arabic for the language training at San Pietro in Montorio (which was later printed under the title *Antitheses fidei*). This possibility, however, seems to me less probable. An examination of the manuscript used as textual *Vorlage* for the print may further clarify the history of the text.

<sup>384</sup> For details on the Hebrew verses transcribed in Perso-Arabic letters, see Halft, “Hebrew Bible Quotations.”

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, there are strong indications that ʿAlavī directly accessed the Gospels through a Persian translation of the Roman Arabic Vulgate. He quotes from the Gospels according to the Coptic chapter divisions, as they appear in the edition printed by the Medici Oriental Press. While it is theoretically possible that ʿAlavī had a printed copy of the Medici edition at his disposal, from which he translated *ad hoc* into Persian, it is in fact highly unlikely. There is no reason why ʿAlavī should have quoted from the Gospels in his own Persian translation, but decided not to translate the Arabic material of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (which he accessed through Shīʿī sources in Arabic).

Rather, besides Shīʿī collections of biblical and pseudo-biblical “testimonies” to Muḥammad and the imāms in Arabic, ʿAlavī had on hand a Persian translation of the four Gospels made by a Shīʿī co-religionist in Isfahan, perhaps the previously mentioned unidentified Muslim scholar and Arabic grammar teacher of the Carmelite friars.<sup>385</sup> This anonymous Persian translation of the Gospels from the Roman Arabic Vulgate still remains to be researched and identified.

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<sup>385</sup> See above, Chapter 3.1.

## Chapter 4: Zāhīr al-Dīn Tafrishī (d. before 1114/1702): Defender of ‘Truth’ against Melkites and Latin Missionaries

The influence of the Roman Arabic Vulgate printed by the Medici Oriental Press in Rome in 1590/91 was not limited to the Safavid capital, but also reached the northern periphery of the Empire during the mid-seventeenth century. The strategically important Caucasus region was disputed between the Ottomans and the Safavids since the early sixteenth century. While western Georgia fell under the dominion of the Ottomans, the rulers of the eastern Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti became vassals of the shāh.<sup>386</sup> Shāh °Abbās I launched several campaigns against Georgia in the 1610s and 1620s, but failed to fully integrate the kingdoms into his realm. In the following decades, his successors consolidated and expanded their political power, *inter alia*, through the recruitment of converted elites. Until the 1740s, the shāhs exclusively confirmed Georgian kings who had accepted Shī‘ī Muslim belief.

Among the Georgian rulers who converted to Islam was Archil II (1647-1713), the son of Vakhtang V of Kartli (r. 1659-75). Following his conversion in 1074 AH (=1663-64), he assumed the title Shāhnaẓar Khān. Shāh °Abbās II (r. 1052/1642-1077/1666) appointed him as viceroy (Pers. *vālī*) of Kakheti, an office that he held until 1675 CE. To supervise the

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<sup>386</sup> For the history of Iranian-Georgian relations, see Grigol Beradze and Karlo Kutsia, “Towards the Interrelations of Iran and Georgia in the 16th-18th Centuries,” in: R. Motika and M. Ursinus, eds, *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1555-1914*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000: 121-131 (slightly modified repr. in *The Near East and Georgia* 3 [Tbilisi 2002]: 160-176); Keith Hitchins, “Georgia ii. History of Iranian-Georgian Relations,” in: *EIr*, 10 (2001): 464-470; Hirotake Maeda, “Exploitation of the Frontier: The Caucasus Policy of Shah °Abbas I,” in: Floor and Herzig, *Iran and the World*: 471-489; Nana Gelashvili, “Iranian-Georgian Relations during the Reign of Rostom (1633-58),” in: Floor and Herzig, *Iran and the World*: 491-498.

administration on the frontier of the Empire, the Safavid shāhs sent various government officials to the Georgian royal court, namely a counselor (Pers. *vazīr*), a financial auditor (Pers. *mustawfī*), and a chancellery secretary (Pers. *munshī*).<sup>387</sup> When Shāhnaẓar Khān left Isfahan for Georgia, he was accompanied by the Shīʿī scholar Ṣahīr al-Dīn ibn Mullā Murād Tafrishī (d. before 1114/1702), who was assigned to the young viceroy as superintendent (Pers. *nāẓir*) and prayer imām (Pers. *pīshnamāz*).<sup>388</sup>

Ṣahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī hailed from a family of Imāmī scholars.<sup>389</sup> His father, Murād ibn ʿAlī (d. 1051/1642), was – like Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī – a disciple of Shaykh Bahāʿī. Ṣahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī was a student of Āqā Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, known as Muḥaqqiq Khʿānsārī (d. 1098/1686).<sup>390</sup> He wrote several theological and philosophical works in Arabic and Persian. In Shaʿbān 1096 (=July 1685), he completed an Arabic super-commentary on Shaykh Bahāʿī’s commentary on al-Bayḏāwī’s (d. ca. 685/1286) Qurʾān commentary *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* (“Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Explanation”).<sup>391</sup> Among the other Arabic works attributed to Tafrishī are *Ithbāt al-wājib* (“Proof of the Necessary [Existence of God]”) and *Jawāb al-shubhatayn* (“Answer to Two Doubts”).<sup>392</sup> The last-mentioned treatise is a

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<sup>387</sup> See Beradze and Kutsia, “Towards the Interrelations,” 127 (repr. 163); Gelashvili, “Iranian-Georgian Relations,” 496.

<sup>388</sup> See Francis Richard, “Trois conférences de controverse islamo-chrétienne en Géorgie vers 1665-1666,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 40 (1982): 253-259, here 253; Manūchihr Akbarī and Ḥasan Ḥaydarī, “Ṣahīrā-yi Tafrishī va āṣār-i ū,” *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi adabiyāt va ʿulūm-i insān* 46/3 (1380/[2001]): 85-104, here 87.

<sup>389</sup> On him, see Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite,” 362-367; Richard, “Trois conférences”; Jaʿfariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah*, 3:981-983; Akbarī and Ḥaydarī, “Ṣahīrā-yi Tafrishī.”

<sup>390</sup> See *ibid.*, 90.

<sup>391</sup> See *ibid.*, 89-90; Gūdarz Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*: Aṣarī az Ṣahīr al-Dīn ibn Mullā Murād Tafrishī,” *Payām-i bahāristān* 4/14 (1390/[2011]): 1224-1379, here 1234-1236.

<sup>392</sup> See Akbarī and Ḥaydarī, “Ṣahīrā-yi Tafrishī,” 91-92; Muʿjam, 1:147, no. 400; Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1235-1236; DINĀ, 1:152, 3:1029; FANKHĀ, 1:490, 10:879.



refutation of the philosophical work *al-Āṣifiyya* by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Shīrvānī (d. 1098/1686-87). It was completed in Isfahan in 1101 AH (= 1689-90).

Tafrishī's Persian works include *Maṭāli' va-maghārib* ("Time of Rising and Coming Down"), *Farhang-i nāyāb* ("Rare Dictionary"), and *Naṣr-i shabnam-i shādāb* ("Scattering Fresh Dew").<sup>393</sup> He also became known for his poetry in Persian.<sup>394</sup> The *terminus ante quem* of Tafrishī's death can be established, as suggested by Rasūl Ja'fariyān, from the colophon of a manuscript of *Maṭāli' va-maghārib*, completed on 20 Muḥarram 1114 AH (= 16 June 1702). In the colophon, the scribe commemorates the author by invoking "May God glorify his pure soul" (Arab. *qaddis Allāh rūḥahu al-zakiyya*).<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> See Dhari'a, 16:218, no. 827, 24:53, no. 256; DINĀ, 9:726. For other Persian works, see Akbarī and Ḥaydarī, "Zahīrā-yi Tafrishī," 92-93; Rashtiyānī, "Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq," 1235-1236.

<sup>394</sup> See Dhari'a, 9:658, no. 4643.

<sup>395</sup> See Ja'fariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah*, 3:981.

## 4.1 The Arabic and Persian Recensions of Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*

In the first half of the 1660s, Tafrishī authored his only known anti-Christian polemical work *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* (“Triumph of Truth”), in which he draws extensively on the Christian sacred Scriptures. Like most Muslim polemicists, he attacks in particular the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The work is extant in seven manuscripts known so far, two of which are written in Arabic and five in Persian.<sup>396</sup> When Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī recorded an entry to *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* in his Shīʿī bibliographical survey *al-Dharīʿa*, he was unaware of the transmission of the treatise in both Arabic and Persian.<sup>397</sup> In 1980, Francis Richard, who had only accessed the Arabic manuscripts at that time, speculated about two independent anti-Christian tracts by Tafrishī.<sup>398</sup> Two years later, from a comparison between the Arabic copies and the Persian manuscript preserved in Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, fols 86v-166r, Richard established that they contained the same work in different Arabic and Persian recensions of the text.<sup>399</sup> While the Arabic version remains unpublished, the Persian recension of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* has recently been edited by Gūdarz Rashtiyānī.<sup>400</sup>

As Tafrishī relates in the Persian version, he had originally written his anti-Christian treatise in Arabic.<sup>401</sup> The earliest known Arabic manuscript, Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS

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<sup>396</sup> For descriptions of the extant manuscripts and their classification as manuscript groups, see below, Appendix 3.

<sup>397</sup> See *Dharīʿa*, 24:175, no. 912.

<sup>398</sup> See Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite,” 368. For his analysis of the Arabic manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 362-367.

<sup>399</sup> See *idem*, “Trois conférences,” 253-254.

<sup>400</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*.” In his introduction, the editor erroneously identified the Capuchin Gabriel de Chinon (d. 1668), whose vindication of Christianity was refuted by Tafrishī, with the Capuchin Gabriel de Paris (ca. 1595-1641).

<sup>401</sup> See *ibid.*, 1248:2.

Dorn 244/1, fols 1v-16r, is still untitled. It is included in a miscellany of Arabic works dated 1074 AH (=1663-64).<sup>402</sup> This is the year of the conversion of Archil II to Islam and his appointment as viceroy of Kakheti. Tafrishī wrote his treatise in Georgia, following a disputation with the French Capuchin Gabriel de Chinon (“al-Pādrī Kibrāʾīl al-ifranjī,” d. 1668).<sup>403</sup> The Shīʿī-Catholic disputation on the doctrine of the Incarnation (Arab. *taʿrīf al-wilāda*) was held in Turkish in the presence of the viceroy Shāhnaẓar Khān.<sup>404</sup> Its influence can be detected throughout *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*.<sup>405</sup>

To give an example, the following polemical passage (which has been omitted in the later Persian recension of Tafrishī’s treatise) is explicitly directed against Gabriel de Chinon:

Look, O you Frank [=a European], by the life of your beard, look at what you are saying. Remove the veil from your eyes, the veil of blind following, that you may see the horrible things [you are saying]. It is all up to you!<sup>406</sup>

In addition to the oral debate, Tafrishī frequently refers in *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* to an untitled vindication of Christianity (“*Risāla*”) by Gabriel de Chinon, which was presumably written in Arabic.<sup>407</sup> It is clear from these passages that our Shīʿī scholar had studied Gabriel’s *Risāla* intensely. This work, which is apparently lost, was composed by the missionary during his sojourn in northern Iran in the late 1650s or early 1660s and was addressed, according to Tafrishī, to an unidentified “honorable person in Tabrīz” (Arab. *baʿḍ al-ajillāʾ bi-madīnat*

<sup>402</sup> See Dorn and Rost, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 232.

<sup>403</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 1v:4.

<sup>404</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 1v:17-18.

<sup>405</sup> See *ibid.*, fols 3v:15; 7v:15-16; 8r:18; 9r:19; 10r:9; 16r:12.

<sup>406</sup> In *ibid.*, fol. 9r:19-20, the original Arabic reads as follows (I am grateful to Walid A. Saleh for his assistance in translating this passage):

فانظر أيها الافرنجي وحيات لحيتك وتفكر ساعة في اطراف كلامك واكشف عن بصرك عشاوة التقليد لعله يلوح عليك شيء  
من تلك الشناعات ثم الامر اليك.

<sup>407</sup> See *ibid.*, fols 1v:3; 7v:10-11; 8r:2; 10r:1-2; 15r:4.

*Tabrīz*).<sup>408</sup> Gabriel de Chinon is best known for having established a Capuchin hospice in Tabrīz in 1656.<sup>409</sup> During a visit to Tbilisi, the friar gave Tafrishī a copy of his vindication of Christianity.<sup>410</sup> It remains unknown whether Gabriel de Chinon received a manuscript of Tafrishī's refutation before his death.

A few years later, during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1077/1666-1105/1694), Tafrishī produced, at the request of the shāh, a Persian version of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* by “translating [his Arabic tract] into Persian” (Pers. *bi-lughat-i fārsī mutarjam gardad*).<sup>411</sup> However, a comparison between the extant Arabic and Persian manuscripts of Tafrishī's anti-Christian polemic shows that they vary considerably with regard to the length and structure of the text.<sup>412</sup> The Persian manuscripts are about two thirds longer than the Arabic version. Therefore, the Persian recension is no ‘translation’, but a revised and extended version of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* by the author.

We learn from the Persian version of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* that Tafrishī was engaged in a series of disputations with Christian representatives in Georgia, among them an Arab Orthodox (Melkite) delegation from Ottoman Syria headed by the Patriarch of Antioch, Makarios III ibn al-Za‘īm (r. 1647-72). The debate with the patriarch and his entourage is transmitted exclusively in the Persian copies of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*.<sup>413</sup> Georgia was part of the

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<sup>408</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 1v:4-5. The circumstances of the composition of Gabriel de Chinon's vindication are echoed in a report by the missionary published in 1671. See Gabriel de Chinon, *Relations nouvelles du Levant: Ou traités de la religion, du gouvernement, & des coūtumes des Perses, des Armeniens, & des Gaures*, Lyon: Iean Thioly, 1671, 188-205.

<sup>409</sup> See Francis Richard, “Capuchins in Persia,” 787.

<sup>410</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fol. 1v:7-9.

<sup>411</sup> Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1248:9.

<sup>412</sup> For details, see below.

<sup>413</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1249:4-1256:1. For details of Tafrishī's debate with the Christian representatives, see Richard, “Trois conférences,” 254-255.

Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and closely linked with Aleppo, the intellectual center of a Melkite movement for the collection, translation, reproduction, and distribution of Arab Christian writings.<sup>414</sup> Since we know that the patriarch sojourned in Georgia between mid-1664 and April 1666 during his travels to Russia, Tafrishī's disputation with Makarios III can be dated to that period.<sup>415</sup> The year 1664 CE is thus the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Persian recension of Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*.

Like Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī, Tafrishī drew on biblical material, in particular the Gospels and the Psalms, for the purpose of refuting Christianity and proving the veracity of the Muslim belief. In the Persian recension of the work, Tafrishī relates that “copies of the Gospels and the Psalms of David, both in Arabic translation, were in my possession [and] I relied on them” (Pers. *nuskha-yi Anājīl va-nuskha-yi Mazāmīr mansūb ba ḥaẓrat-i Dāvud va-har dū mutarjam ba °arabī taḥṣīl numūda nazd-i banda mī-būdand va-qadr-i ma°rifatī ba ānhā ḥāsīl dāshtam*).<sup>416</sup> However, our Shi°ī author neither identifies the translations that he

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<sup>414</sup> See Michel Abras, “Vies des saints d’Antioche de Makāriyūs Ibn al-Za°īm, patriarche d’Antioche (1647-1672),” *Parole de l’Orient* 21 (1996): 285-306, here 288-289.

On the Melkite renaissance, see Bernard Heyberger, “Livres et pratique de la lecture chez les chrétiens (Syrie, Liban) XVII°-XVIII° siècles”, in: F. Hitzel, ed., *Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman*, Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1999: 209-223, esp. 215-221; Carsten-Michael Walbiner, “Some Observations on the Perception and Understanding of Printing Amongst the Arab Greek Orthodox (Melkites) in the Seventeenth Century,” in: Ph. Sadgrove, ed., *Printing and Publishing in the Middle East*, Oxford: University Press, 2008: 65-76; idem, “Preserving the Past and Enlightening the Present: Macarius b. al-Za°īm and Medieval Melkite Literature,” *Parole de l’Orient* 34 (2009): 433-441; idem, “Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Approaches.”

<sup>415</sup> For details, see idem, “The Second Journey of Macarius Ibn az-Za°īm to Russia (1666-1668),” in *Rūsīyā wa-Urthūdhukhs al-sharq*, Balamand: University, 1998: 99-114, here 99-101; idem, “Biographies of Prominent Clerics as A Possible Approach to the History of the Christian Arabs in the First Centuries of Ottoman Rule: The Case of Macarius Ibn al-Za°īm,” *Chronos* 3 (2000): 35-60, here 41. See also Nikolaj Serikoff, “Patriarch Macarius Ibn al-Za°īm,” in: S. Noble and A. Treiger, eds, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700-1700: An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014: 236-251, Chapter 11.

<sup>416</sup> Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1249:16-1250:2.

consulted, nor does he specify whether the biblical books became available to him in manuscript form or in printed editions.

It is suggested here that Tafrishī relied on two different types of Arabic biblical sources, namely printed material imported from Catholic lands as well as handwritten material from indigenous Arab Orthodox communities. His sources can be identified, on the one hand, as the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and, on the other hand, the Arabic version of the Septuagint Psalter with appended Odes (hereafter LXXPs) which presumably reflects the translation by the eleventh-century Arab Orthodox theologian ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī.<sup>417</sup> It seems plausible that a printed copy of the Roman Arabic Vulgate became available to Tafrishī through Gabriel de Chinon or another missionary from Europe. In addition, he had access to a manuscript copy of Ibn al-Faḍl’s Arabic translation of the LXXPs, as it was later printed in Aleppo (1706) under the supervision of Athanasius al-Dabbās (1647-1724).<sup>418</sup> The same version of the Psalms was included in the *Biblia Sacra*

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<sup>417</sup> On the history of the LXXPs, see Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, eds, *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000; Erich Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2001; Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2003. However, Arabic translations of the LXXPs are not mentioned in these publications. A comprehensive and systematic study of the extant manuscripts, of which several are listed in GCAL, 1:114-126, is still lacking.

On Ibn al-Faḍl, see Alexander Treiger, “ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī,” in: CMR600, 3 (2011): 89-113; 5 (2013): 748-749; Hans Daiber, “Graeco-Arabica Christiana: The Christian Scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl from Antiochia (11<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.) as Transmitter of Greek Works,” in: F. Opwis and D. Reisman, eds, *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, Leiden: Brill, 2012: 3-9; Samuel Noble, “ʿAbdallah ibn al-Faḍl al-Antaki,” in: idem and Treiger, *The Orthodox Church*: 171-187, Chapter 7.

<sup>418</sup> On the dissemination of the Arabic version of the LXXPs among Arab Christians, see Paul de Lagarde, *Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia arabice*, Göttingen: W. F. Kaestner, 1876, v; Alfred Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalter*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907, 35, no. 9; GCAL, 1:116-117.

*Arabica*.<sup>419</sup> The particular recension/s of the Septuagint used as *Vorlage* for the Arabic translation of the Psalms attributed to Ibn al-Faḍl still need/s to be researched.<sup>420</sup>

Besides the biblical books and Gabriel de Chinon's vindication of Christianity, Tafrishī accessed in Georgia several Melkite historiographical and theological works in Arabic. In his Arabic and Persian versions of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*, the Shī'ī scholar quotes from an unidentified Arabic tract ("*Risāla*") by Ibn al-Faḍl and paraphrases and quotes from an untitled miscellany ("*al-Majmū'a*") by Makarios III.<sup>421</sup> These works have not yet been precisely identified. By the time of writing the Persian recension of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*, Tafrishī had a copy of Sa'īd ibn al-Baṭrīq's ("Eutychius of Alexandria," 263/877-328/940) *Kitāb nazm al-jawhar* ("The String of Pearls," completed in 326/938), otherwise known as *Kitāb al-ta'rikh al-majmū' 'alā l-taḥqīq wa-l-taṣdīq* ("The Book of History, Compiled Through Investigation

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On al-Dabbās, see GCAL, 3:127-134; Walbiner, "Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Approaches," 58-61. The Aleppo print was accessible to me in a defective copy preserved under the shelf mark Theol 4° 00020/16 in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha: [*al-Mazāmīr*] *Ibtidā' al-mazāmīr allatī naṭaqa bi-hā al-rūḥ al-quds 'alā lisān Dāwūd al-malik wa-l-nabī (...)* [Aleppo], [1706] (the title-page of the Psalter and the last pages of the Odes are lacking). For a description of the Psalter, see Cyrille Karalevsky, *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites (Alexandrie, Antioche, Jérusalem) depuis le schisme monophysite du sixième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols, Rome: Imprimerie du Sénat, 1909-11, 3:109-112, no. 1 (in contrast to the introduction by the editor, the Arabic LXXPs contains all 151 Psalms from the Septuagint). The Psalms are reproduced in the synoptic print by de Lagarde, *Psalterium*, 1-241 (text at the bottom left).

<sup>419</sup> See GCAL, 1:117; Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno," 409.

<sup>420</sup> On the basis of de Lagarde's synoptic printed text of four different Arabic versions of the LXXPs, Rahlfs stated that the Aleppo Psalter is "quite independent" (German *durchaus selbständig*) with some "Upper Egyptian readings" (German *O[ber]ä[gyptische]-Lesarten*). See his *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalter*, 169, no. 4 ("Arab<sup>Al</sup>"). In his later edition of the Greek LXXPs, Rahlfs abstained from including the Arabic versions. See *Psalmi cum Odis*, ed. A. Rahlfs, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1931, 16-17, n. 3. The "Septuaginta-Unternehmen" at Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen is currently preparing a new edition of the Psalter, including secondary translations from the Greek into other languages.

<sup>421</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 14v:1-8; 15r:4-5, 7-16; Rashtiyānī, "*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*," 1326:13-1327:5; 1328:2-9; 1348:4-9.

and Verification”), at his disposal in Tbilisi.<sup>422</sup> Our Shī‘ī scholar refers to Sa‘īd ibn al-Baṭrīq’s treatise and quotes from it in the original Arabic.<sup>423</sup> These citations confirm that Tafrishī closely interacted with Arab Orthodox Christians in Georgia, who presumably gave him access to the above-mentioned Melkite works.

Moreover, Tafrishī adduced in his Persian version of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* a passage in Persian from a tract by “one of the Franks [=Europeans] in India” (Pers. *yakī az Farangān dar Hindūstān*). It can be identified as the already mentioned *Ā‘īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* by the Jesuit Jerónimo Xavier, which was probably not directly available to Tafrishī but rather through ‘Alavī’s refutation *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>2</sup> (or another Muslim intermediary source).<sup>424</sup> Tafrishī’s recourse to various biblical books and works by Middle Eastern Christians as well as Latin missionaries shows that our Shī‘ī scholar attempted to attack the foundation of the Christian religion and its scholarly tradition.

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<sup>422</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1258:6-8. On Sa‘īd ibn al-Baṭrīq, see Uriel Simonsohn, “Sa‘īd ibn Baṭrīq,” in: CMR600, 2 (2010): 224-233; idem, “Eutychius of Alexandria,” in: EI<sup>3</sup> (online edition).

<sup>423</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1307:14-17; 1346:2-3; 1346:6-1347:7 (I have been unable to identify the citation according to the two editions Eutychius of Alexandria, *Eutychiei Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, 2 vols, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, and H. Zayyat, Parisiis: Carolus Poussielgue, 1906-09; idem, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychos von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa‘īd ibn Baṭrīq um 935 AD*, 2 vols, ed. M. Breydy, Louvain: E. Peeters, 1985).

<sup>424</sup> Compare “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1283:9-10, with ‘Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 119:11-12.



## 4.2 Tafrishī's Reception of Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic Version of the Septuagint Psalter

Tafrishī's source for his citations from the Psalms and Odes (which is a collection of Old and New Testament canticles appended to the Septuagint Psalter) was probably a Byzantine lectionary of the Divine Office. This is suggested by the indication that he quotes "from the appendices to the book of Psalms" (Arab. *min mulḥaqāt kitāb al-Mazāmīr*), i.e. the Odes, as they appear regularly in liturgical manuscripts of the LXXPs.<sup>425</sup> Tafrishī adduces, for instance, the Song of Moses recorded in Deuteronomy 32:1-43 according to the "2<sup>nd</sup> Ode of Moses of the 10 Odes" (Arab. *al-tasbīḥ al-thānī al-mansūb ilā Mūsā min al-tasābīḥ al-<sup>ᶜ</sup>ashr*).<sup>426</sup> This example shows that Tafrishī relied, besides the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, on a lectionary probably used by Arab Orthodox Christians. I argue that the Arabic version of the LXXPs attributed to Ibn al-Faḍl transcended the cultural-religious boundaries of Middle Eastern Christian communities and became available to Shī'ī Muslims in Safavid Iran during the seventeenth century.

There is further evidence for this from a Psalter manuscript in *thulth* script with rubrics in red ink, which is preserved in Tehran, Millī, MS 981 [176], 573 pp. (no foliation).<sup>427</sup> The undated lectionary contains the following items in Arabic: (1) The Septuagint Psalter, including Psalm 151 (which is not part of the Hebrew Bible), in the translation attributed to

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<sup>425</sup> Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fol. 14r:11.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., fol. 14r:10-11.

<sup>427</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see <sup>ᶜ</sup>Abdallāh Anvār et al., *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī*, vol. 1-, Tihrān: Vizārat-i Farhang va Hunar, 1965-, 8:471; DINĀ, 9:468, no. 252572.

The folios of Tehran, Millī, MS 981 need to be rearranged as follows (with pages indicated): 1-219; 222-223; 220-221; 224-573 (defective between 219 and 222; 221 and 224; as well as in the end).

Ibn al-Faḍl (pp. 1-471);<sup>428</sup> (2) The 10 Odes (Arab. *al-tasābīḥ al-muqaddasa*) (pp. 472-515);<sup>429</sup> (3) The so-called Akathist Hymn to Our Lady (Arab. *madīḥ li-sittinā al-sayyida*), structured in twenty-four sections (pp. 515-547); (4) Another hymn in honor of the “Mother of God” (Arab. *madīḥ ayḍan tashrīf li-wālidat al-ilāh*) (pp. 547-551); (5) The Kneeling Prayers of Pentecost (Arab. *afāshīn al-sajda li-yawm al-ʿanṣara al-ʿaẓīma*) (pp. 552-573; the folio breaks off in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> prayer); (6) Various prayers, hymns, and readings from biblical books and works of John Chrysostom and John of Damascus, all written in the margins of the manuscript. A comparison between Tafrishī’s citations from the Psalms and Odes and the Psalter in MS 981 shows that our Shīʿī scholar relied on the same Arabic version of the LXXPs that is assumed to reflect the translation by Ibn al-Faḍl.

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<sup>428</sup> On Psalm 151, see Erich Zenger, “Exkurs: Ps 151 LXX als Nachwort zum Septuagintapsalter,” in: *Psalmen 101-150* (HThKAT), translated and interpreted by F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2008: 886-890. The Septuagint Psalter is structured differently from the Hebrew Bible: 1-8 [=Masoretic Psalms: 1-8] (Tehran, Millī, MS 981/1, pp. 1-19), 9 [=9/10] (pp. 19-27), 10-112, of which 70-73 are incomplete [=11-113] (pp. 27-367), 113 [=114/115] (pp. 367-372), 114 [=116:1-9] (pp. 372-373), 115 [=116:10-19] (pp. 373-374), 116-145 [=117-146] (pp. 375-460), 146 [=147:1-11] (pp. 461-462), 147 [=147:12-20] (pp. 463-464), 148-150 [=148-150] (pp. 464-470), 151 (pp. 470-471).

<sup>429</sup> The Odes are structured as follows: “1<sup>st</sup> Ode of Moses” [=Exodus 15:1-19] (Tehran, Millī, MS 981/1, pp. 472-476), “2<sup>nd</sup> Ode of Moses” [=Deuteronomy 32:1-43] (pp. 476-487), “3<sup>rd</sup> Ode of Hannah” [=1 Samuel 2:1-10] (pp. 487-490), “4<sup>th</sup> Ode of Habakkuk” [=Habakkuk 3:2-19] (pp. 490-495), “5<sup>th</sup> Ode of Isaiah” [=Isaiah 26:9-19] (pp. 495-498), “6<sup>th</sup> Ode of Jonah” [=Jonah 2:3-10] (pp. 498-500), “7<sup>th</sup> Ode of the Three Young Men” [=Daniel 3:26-56] (pp. 500-508), “8<sup>th</sup> Ode of the Three Young Men” [=Daniel 3:57-90] (pp. 508-512), “9<sup>th</sup> Ode of Mary” [=Luke 1:46-55] (pp. 512-513), “10<sup>th</sup> Ode of Zechariah” [=Luke 1:68-79] (pp. 513-515). The same structure already appears in the Greek manuscript preserved in Vatican, BAV, MS Regin. graec. 1, dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE [not seen by me]. See *Psalmi cum Odis*, ed. Rahlfs, 79, no. 2 (“Minuskel 55”). For a description of this manuscript, see Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen aufgestellt*, Berlin: Weidemann, 1914, 245-246, no. 1.



Figure 7. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Milli-i Īrān, MS 981, fols 1v and 2r, The opening of the Septuagint Psalter in Arabic, © Kitābhāna-yi Milli-i Īrān.

The former liturgical use of MS 981 is supported by an analysis of the extant liturgical markings and the remarks contained in the rubrics of the codex. As Griffith has pointed out, “the liturgy’s need for translations of the scriptures into Arabic seems to have been among the most important of the factors prompting the initial production and then the continuous copying [of the biblical books].”<sup>430</sup> It is thus not surprising that lectionaries were transmitted even beyond Christian communities and studied by a Muslim readership. In MS 981, the LXXPs is structured in twenty sections (Arab. *al-qānūn*), corresponding to the Greek *kathismata* (καθίσματα), with indications of the weekly cycle for Vespers (Arab. *layla*),

<sup>430</sup> Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 132.

Matins (Arab. *saḥar*), and Vigil (Arab. *‘ashīya*).<sup>431</sup> Correspondingly, the appended Odes as well as the prayers, hymns, and readings written in the margins of the codex have liturgical markings.<sup>432</sup> We also read the Arab Orthodox Proper of Saints, which includes the Arabic names of the Gregorian calendar months used in Eastern Arabic lands.<sup>433</sup>

Of particular interest is the Arabic version of the Greek Akathist Hymn in honor of the Virgin Mary and ‘God-bearer’, as preserved on pp. 515-547 of our codex. In the rubrics, we read that the hymn is to be “recited on the 5<sup>th</sup> Saturday of the Great Fast (Lent)” (Arab. *yuqrā fī l-sabt al-khāmīs min al-ṣawm al-muqaddas*).<sup>434</sup> A comparison with the edition of the hymn by Curt Peters, based on Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 253, 232 fols, dated 1560 CE, and collated against Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 1571, fols 200r-205v (incomplete in the beginning), completed on 12 Kānūn II 1331 CE by Ilyās ibn Buṭrus known as al-‘Ārif [both manuscripts not seen by me], shows that the Tehran Psalter contains the same Arabic translation of the Greek Akathist.<sup>435</sup> Tehran, Millī, MS 981 is thus the third

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<sup>431</sup> The Psalms are structured as follows: 1-8 (*qānūn* 1: *laylat al-aḥad*); 9-16 (*qānūn* 2: *saḥar al-aḥad*); 17-23 (*qānūn* 3); 24-31 (*qānūn* 4: *saḥar al-ithnayn*); 32-36 (*qānūn* 5); 37-45 (*qānūn* 6: *laylat al-thalātha*); 46-54 (*qānūn* 7: *saḥar al-thalātha*); 55-63 (*qānūn* 8); 64-69 (*qānūn* 9: *laylat al-arba‘ā*); 70-76 (*qānūn* 10: *saḥar al-arba‘ā*); 77-84 (*qānūn* 11); 85-90 (*qānūn* 12: *laylat al-khamīs*); 91-100 (*qānūn* 13: *saḥar al-khamīs*); 101-104 (*qānūn* 14); 105-108 (*qānūn* 15: *‘ashīyat al-khamīs*); 109-111 (*qānūn* 16: *saḥar al-sabt*); 112-118 (*qānūn* 17); 119-133 (*qānūn* 18: *‘ashīyat al-jum‘a*); 134-142 (*qānūn* 19: *saḥar al-jum‘a*); 143-150 (*qānūn* 20); 151.

<sup>432</sup> The Odes, for instance, bear the following indications: “1<sup>st</sup> Ode of Moses” (*saḥar al-ithnayn*); “2<sup>nd</sup> Ode of Moses” (*saḥar al-thalātha*); “3<sup>rd</sup> Ode of Hannah” (*saḥar al-arba‘ā*); “4<sup>th</sup> Ode of Habakkuk” (*saḥar al-khamīs*); “5<sup>th</sup> Ode of Isaiah” (*saḥar al-jum‘a*).

<sup>433</sup> See Tehran, Millī, MS 981, pp. 414-490, margins.

<sup>434</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 515.

<sup>435</sup> See Curt Peters, “Eine arabische Übersetzung des Akathistos-Hymnus,” *Le Muséon* 53 (1940): 89-104. For descriptions of the manuscripts, see Petrus Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1957, 50, 208; Witkam, *Inventory*, 1:107, 2:180-181.

source for this anonymous Arabic version of the hymn known so far, the translation of which dates to the first half of the fourteenth century or earlier.

There are no palaeographical or codicological indications to determine where and when Tehran, Millī, MS 981 was copied. After the lectionary had passed into the hands of Muslims, some of its blank folios were used for recording the last wills of people. In the five undated testaments in Arabic, the North Iranian region of Gīlān is mentioned.<sup>436</sup> The earliest date of MS 981 appears in a seal impression by a certain Ḥusayn, dated 1089 AH (=1678-79).<sup>437</sup> The Psalter manuscript was submitted for registration (Pers. *‘arz*) in an unidentified library on 27 Ṣafar 1115 (=12 July 1703) and on 22 Jumāda I 1126 (=5 June 1714).<sup>438</sup> It is thus clear that MS 981 had been in the possession of a Muslim owner by the late seventeenth century.<sup>439</sup> Although there is no indication that Tafrishī directly used MS 981 as a source, it is likely that he relied on a similar Byzantine lectionary of the Divine Office of Arab Orthodox provenance, from which he quoted certain passages from the Psalms and Odes in Arabic.

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<sup>436</sup> The testaments contain the last wills of (i) Mīrzā ibn Aḥmad for the benefit of his son Muḥammad; (ii) Buṭkir bint Abī Bakr for the benefit of her son Ṭāhir; (iii) Qush Muḥammad; (iv) Azawā; and (v) Damadan ibn Mullā ‘Alī Muḥammad Aḥmad for the benefit of his sons and his daughter Maryam. See Tehran, Millī, MS 981, pp. 0; 574-575. Objects of inheritance were farm animals, fields under cultivation, houses and garments. The names of the witnesses were ‘Alī, Muḥammad, Khadija, ‘Umar, Mūsā, and Mullā Aḥmad.

<sup>437</sup> See Tehran, Millī, MS 981, p. 0-2. On the same page, we read seal impressions by a certain Muḥammad, dated 1118 AH (=1706-07), Āghā Mūsā(?) Yazdī, dated [11]48 (=1735-36), and Muḥammad Āl-i Ma‘ṣūm, dated 1189 (=1775-76). For another seal impression, dated 1279 (=1862-63), see *ibid.*, p. 0.

<sup>438</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 0-2.

<sup>439</sup> In Ṣafar 1185 AH (=May-June 1771), Tehran, Millī, MS 981 was in the possession of Mīrzā Ma‘ṣūm, “the former vizier of Rasht” (Pers. *vazīr-i sābiq-i Rasht*) (see p. 0-2). A note dated 1307 (=1889-1890) indicates that MS 981 became part of the collection of the Qajar Ministry of Science (see p. 0-1). Seal impressions of the ministry, dated 1306 (=1888-89) and 1338 (=1919-20), appear on *ibid.*, pp. 0-2; 0; 1; 2; 68; 356; 573.

### 4.3 Tafrishī's Attitude towards the Bible

In what follows, I analyze Tafrishī's use of the Scriptures on the basis of the Arabic recension of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* as extant in the earliest known manuscript preserved in Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1.<sup>440</sup> In this version, all citations from the Gospels and the Psalms with appended Odes appear in the second chapter (Arab. *faṣl*) of the fourth introduction (Arab. *muqaddima*), which is “in refutation of their [Christian] argument in favor of the Trinity” (Arab. *fī radd istidlālihim ‘alā l-tathlīth*).<sup>441</sup> In the opening section of the chapter, Tafrishī accused the Christians of teaching anthropomorphism (Arab. *tashbīh, tamthīl*) by falsely taking biblical terms (Arab. *lafẓa*) such as the “Father” (Arab. *al-āb*) and “Son of God” (Arab. *ibn Allāh*) in a literal sense.<sup>442</sup> In opposition to a literal interpretation, our Shī‘ī scholar adduced twenty-eight citations from the Gospels and eleven citations from the LXXPs to prove the figurative use of the Father-Son image in the Bible.<sup>443</sup>

In the later Persian versions of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*, we read more scriptural citations, all of which agree with the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic version of the LXXPs. They are adduced in the account of Tafrishī's interreligious disputation with Makarios III, the chapter “in refutation of their biblical arguments in favor of the oneness and the divinity of Jesus” (Pers. *dar ibṭāl-i adilla-yi naqliyya-yi īshān bar ittiḥād va-ilāhīyat-i Masīḥ*), and, in particular, the epilogue (Pers. *khātima*) dedicated to the “analysis

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<sup>440</sup> The biblical citations vary slightly between the two Arabic manuscripts Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1 and Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 3282/2.

<sup>441</sup> Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fol. 10v:3.

<sup>442</sup> See *ibid.*, fols 10v-11r.

<sup>443</sup> For Tafrishī's citations from the Gospels, see below, Appendix 6. For his citations from the Psalms and Odes, see below, Appendix 7.

of the mutual contradictions and inconsistencies between the Evangelists” (Pers. *dar zikr-i tafṣīl-i tanāquṣ va-tadāfu<sup>c</sup>-i injīliyān bā yak-digar*). Since these citations are accessible in the edition of Rashtiyānī, they are not adduced in the appendix.<sup>444</sup>

Tafrishī aims to challenge his Christian interlocutors on their own ground by repeatedly contrasting the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation with biblical verses that appear to be inconsistent with the Christian teachings. He systematically ignores the figurative language of the Gospels and interprets the terms “father” and “son”/“children” as mere a biological relationship. As a result of this biologism, Tafrishī cannot make sense of the divergent statements of Jesus about men being children of God as well as “of [their] father Satan” (Arab. *min abikum Iblīs* or *al-shayṭān*; cf. John, Coptic chap. 21 [=John 8:39-44]), and at the same time being “like angels” (Arab. *mithl al-malā’ika*; cf. Luke, Coptic chap. 72 [=Luke 20:27-36]), etc.<sup>445</sup> He concludes that Jesus is not truly the “Son of God,” but a human being who has reached some degree of perfection (Arab. *al-insān al-kāmil*). Our author hopes to show the alleged absurdity of Christian doctrine through such inconsistencies within and/or between the biblical books.

While Tafrishī’s polemical argument is hardly original, his wide range of adduced passages and citations is striking. Through his interreligious encounters with Latin missionaries and Arab Orthodox Christians in Georgia, our Shī’ī scholar gained access to entire biblical books (Gospels, Psalms, Odes) in printed and in manuscript form, as used by Christian communities in the Middle East. He studied the material intensely, and in support of his anti-Christian argument, identified verses that were far more numerous than the passages commonly adduced by Muslim polemicists. Many citations from the Gospels,

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<sup>444</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1250:3-1254:5; 1333:1-1344:12; 1358:2-1375:13.

<sup>445</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 11r:12-11v:3; 11v:3-15.

especially from Luke, are comparatively uncommon and do not appear in some of the most popular Muslim polemics against Christianity dating between the ninth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>446</sup> Likewise, Tafrishī's quotations from the Psalms can hardly be found in earlier Muslim refutations of Judaism and the Hebrew Bible.<sup>447</sup> Therefore, the value of Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* is not the possible originality of its argument, but the accumulation and combination of biblical passages that became available to him through a printed book and a handwritten lectionary in Arabic.

We may assume that his debates with Christian representatives in Georgia, his study of Gabriel de Chinon's vindication of Christianity, and the immediate accessibility of the four Gospels, Psalms, and Odes motivated Tafrishī to reply to his Christian interlocutors. His goal was to use the sacred texts of his opponents as a source for extensive citations and thus to increase the authority of his anti-Christian argument. This example shows that interreligious exchanges had a strong effect on the composition/compilation of Muslim polemical works. The availability of a printed copy of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate certainly facilitated Tafrishī's detailed and comparative study of the biblical books. There is no indication that our Twelver Shī'ī scholar distinguished in his approach between the Western and Eastern Churches. The main purpose of Tafrishī's writing was to refute Christian belief by showing its alleged inconsistency with its own biblical tradition.

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<sup>446</sup> Compare below, Appendix 6, with the table in Martin Accad, "The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Exegetical Inventorial Table," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14 (2003): 67-91 (I), 205-220 (II), 337-352 (III), 459-479 (IV).

<sup>447</sup> Compare below, Appendix 7, with the index in Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism*, 319.



## Chapter 5: Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (d. 1127/1715):

### Translator of the Gospels from Arabic into Persian

Shortly after his accession to the Safavid throne in 1105 AH (=1694), Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the last Safavid ruler of Iran, commissioned the Shīʿī jurist Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ismāʿīl Khātūnābādī (d. 1127/1715) to translate the four Gospels into Persian.<sup>448</sup> The shāh thereby followed the example of Shāh ʿAbbās I and the great Mughal ruler of India Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar I (r. 963/1556-1014/1605), who had both previously been engaged in obtaining Persian versions of the Gospels.<sup>449</sup> It remains unclear whether Sulṭān Ḥusayn requested the translation out of curiosity about Christian beliefs or for polemical purposes. On 20 Shawwāl 1108 AH (=12 May 1697), Khātūnābādī completed his translation, including a detailed introduction, extensive marginal glosses (Pers. *ḥavāshī*) on the Gospels, and a short epilogue, all of which are written in Persian.<sup>450</sup> There is no evidence, however, that Sulṭān Ḥusayn read the Gospels in Persian.

The translator, Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, is not unknown to students of late Safavid society. Khātūnābādī was among the high-ranking Imāmī scholars who were closely connected with the established powers and who had an increasing influence on

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<sup>448</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fol. 5v:13; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 6:15; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 4. For descriptions of the extant manuscripts and their classification as manuscript groups, see below, Appendix 4.

<sup>449</sup> For ʿAbbās I, see above, Chapter 2.1. For Akbar I, see Fischel, “The Bible in Persian Translation,” 17-21.

<sup>450</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fol. 152r:16-152v:3; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), pp. 373:13-374:2; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 225. Khātūnābādī’s paratextual introduction, marginal glosses, and epilogue are omitted in later manuscript copies.

political affairs at court.<sup>451</sup> In his youth, Sulṭān Ḥusayn received his formation under the tutelage of Khātūnābādī. Following the death of the prominent Shīʿī scholar Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī in 1111 AH (=1700), Khātūnābādī became the shāh’s close adviser on religious and legal matters.<sup>452</sup> About five years later, the Shīʿī jurist was appointed as the first rector and teacher of the newly established Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī of Isfahan, also known as Madrasa-yi Chahār Bāgh.<sup>453</sup> In addition, he served as the first “chief of religious scholars” (Pers. *mullā-bāshī*), an office established by Sulṭān Ḥusayn in ca. 1124 AH (=1712-13).<sup>454</sup>

At the request of the shāh, Khātūnābādī composed several treatises in Persian. In the month of Ramaḍān 1115 (=January-February 1704), Sulṭān Ḥusayn invited the Shīʿī jurist twice to break the fast with him. On each of these occasions, the shāh requested Khātūnābādī to compose a treatise on prayer and supplication.<sup>455</sup> These two Persian works are *Taʿqībāt-i namāzhā* (“Pursuit of Prayer”), also known as *Ādāb-i namāz*, and *Ādāb-i duʿā* (“Decorum of

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<sup>451</sup> For a general overview, see Rudi Matthee, *Persia in Crisis: Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan*, London: Tauris, 2012, 201-215.

<sup>452</sup> See ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Khātūnābādī (a cousin of Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir), *Vaqāyīʿ al-sinīn va-l-aʿwām, yā, Guzārishhā-yi sāliyānah az ibtidā-yi khilqat tā sāl-i 1196 Hījri*, ed. M. B. Bihbūdī, Tihirān: Kitābfurūshī-i Islāmiyyah, 1352/[1973], 552, 556, 559; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 61-63 (introduction).

<sup>453</sup> See ʿA. al-Ḥ. Khātūnābādī, *Vaqāyīʿ al-sinīn*, ed. Bihbūdī, 556; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 62 (introduction); Maryam Moazzen, “Shīʿite Higher Learning and the Role of the Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī in Late Safavid Iran,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2011, 267. For the facsim. of a copy of the “diploma of appointment” (Pers. *ḥukm*), dated 1 Rabīʿ I 1182 (=16 July 1768), see *ibid.*, 295-298.

<sup>454</sup> For biographical information on Khātūnābādī, see ʿA. al-Ḥ. Khātūnābādī, *Vaqāyīʿ al-sinīn*, ed. Bihbūdī, 552-565; Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm*, 77-78, no. 29; Saīd A. Arjomand, “The Office of *Mulla-bashi* in Shīʿite Iran,” *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983): 134-146; Jaʿfariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah*, 3:986-999; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 60-75 (introduction); Ometto, “Khatun Abadi”; Moazzen, “Shīʿite Higher Learning,” 258-287, Chapter 7; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 138-144, Chapter 5.8.4.

<sup>455</sup> See ʿA. al-Ḥ. Khātūnābādī, *Vaqāyīʿ al-sinīn*, ed. Bihbūdī, 552; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 61 (introduction). For an English translation of the passage, see Moazzen, “Shīʿite Higher Learning,” 263 (the year is erroneously indicated by the translator as 1703 CE).

Supplication”).<sup>456</sup> In addition, Khātūnābādī wrote an untitled treatise on the portions from the Qurʾān recited during ritual prayer.<sup>457</sup> In *Nawrūz-nāma* (“Book of Nawrūz”), the Shīʿī jurist composed a calendar based on the tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad and the imāms.<sup>458</sup> He wrote an introduction to natural phenomena and laws entitled *Kāʾināt al-jaww* (“Created Things of the Atmosphere”), also known as *Āṣār-i ʿalavī*.<sup>459</sup> In 1115 AH (=1703-04), Khātūnābādī composed *Risāla dar āb-i nīsān va-qamr dar ʿaqrab* (“A Treatise on April Rains and the ‘Moon in the Scorpio’”).<sup>460</sup>

Besides his own treatises, Khātūnābādī is known for his translations of various Arabic works into Persian, most of them produced at the request of Sulṭān Ḥusayn. He translated and commented on the Qurʾān commentary *Majmaʿ al-bayān li-ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* of the Imāmī scholar Abū ʿAlī l-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Tabrisī (or al-Tabarsī, d. 548/1154).<sup>461</sup> Khātūnābādī also translated al-Tabrisī’s ethics *Makārim al-akhlāq* (“[The Book of] Noble Character”).<sup>462</sup> The shāh requested him to translate Ḥajj Bābā ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Qazvīnī’s *al-Mashkūl*, a work that is modelled on Shaykh Bahāʾī’s large literary anthology *al-Kashkūl*.<sup>463</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>456</sup> For *Ādāb-i duʿā*, see M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 67 (introduction), no. 3 (the year is erroneously indicated by the editor as 1116 AH). For *Taʿqibāt-i namāzhā*, see *ibid.*, 67 (introduction), no. 5; DINĀ, 3:49; FANKHĀ, 8:433.

<sup>457</sup> See M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 67 (introduction), no. 4.

<sup>458</sup> See Dhariʿa, 24:379-380, no. 2042; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 68 (introduction), no. 9; DINĀ, 10:855.

<sup>459</sup> See Dhariʿa, 17:228, no. 1; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 67-68 (introduction), no. 6; DINĀ, 8:365; FANKHĀ, 1:44.

<sup>460</sup> See Dhariʿa, 19:13, no. 48; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 68 (introduction), no. 8; DINĀ, 1:5; FANKHĀ, 1:9-10.

<sup>461</sup> See ʿA. al-Ḥ. Khātūnābādī, *Vaqāyīʿ al-sinīn*, ed. Bihbūdī, 552; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 67 (introduction), no. 2.

<sup>462</sup> See M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 68 (introduction), no. 7; DINĀ, 9:1228.

<sup>463</sup> See Dhariʿa, 21:67, no. 3985; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 68 (introduction), no. 10.

Khātūnābādī translated *‘Uyūn al-ḥisāb* (“Sources of Arithmetic”) by the seventeenth-century mathematician Muḥammad Bāqir Yazdī.<sup>464</sup> He made a Persian translation of *‘Ahd-nāma-yi Mālik-i Ashtar* (“The Contract of Mālik Ashtar”), attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, as well as of *al-Balad al-amīn* (“The Secure City”).<sup>465</sup> Amongst all his treatises and translations, the glossed Persian translation of the Gospels remained Khātūnābādī’s only work related to Christianity.

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<sup>464</sup> See Dhari‘a, 15:378-379, no. 2376; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 68-69 (introduction), no. 11; DINĀ, 7:733; FANKHĀ, 23:247.

<sup>465</sup> For *‘Ahd-nāma-yi Mālik-i Ashtar*, see M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 69 (introduction), no. 13; DINĀ, 7:687; FANKHĀ, 23:139-140. For *al-Balad al-amīn*, see Dhari‘a, 26:192-193, no. 965; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 69 (introduction), no. 12.

## 5.1 The Roman Arabic Vulgate in Persian Translation

Although Khātūnābādī was not the first Shī'ī scholar who translated the “Arabic Gospels” (Pers. *Anājīl-i 'arabī*) into Persian, his translation figures prominently among other Gospel translations.<sup>466</sup> It is extant in seven manuscript copies known so far, six of which were accessible to me.<sup>467</sup> The manuscripts indicate that Khātūnābādī's translation circulated among Shī'ī Muslims and continued to be reproduced and studied in nineteenth-century Qājār Iran. Khātūnābādī's translation is surprisingly literal. He closely followed the syntax of the Arabic translation, often imitating the formal structure of the Arabic sentence against the syntax of the Persian language.<sup>468</sup> Regarding the lexis, the translator tends to use Arabic

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<sup>466</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 2.1, Shī'ī scholars were engaged in translating the Gospels from the Arabic into Persian as early as 1608 CE. Maryam Moazzen's assumption that Khātūnābādī was the first Shī'ī translator of the Gospels (see her “Shī'ite Higher Learning,” 261) is thus unjustified.

<sup>467</sup> An examination of the copies shows that at least two of them, namely Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364 and Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), were copied during Khātūnābādī's lifetime. The text of the presumed earliest manuscript preserved in the private collection of the late M. ʿA. Rawzātī in Isfahan was accessible to me only through Rasūl Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān's edition, first published in 1375 SH (=1996). The edition is based on the copy held by Rawzātī. In addition, the editor consulted Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364 (see M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba'ā*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān, 73 [introduction]).

However, Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān's publication does not satisfy the requirements of a critical edition. No variant readings between the manuscripts are indicated. Some lacunae appear in the edited text, although Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364 offers a clear reading of the passages concerned (compare, for instance, M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba'ā*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān, 4, with Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 6r:9-10). In addition, the manuscripts slightly differ regarding Khātūnābādī's glosses, nothing of which is mentioned in Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān's publication. In this study, I therefore make reference to the printed text, as well as to the earliest known manuscripts Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364 and Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī).

<sup>468</sup> For a linguistic discussion of Khātūnābādī's translation, see Ometto, “Khatun Abadi,” 65-69; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 142-144.

terminology. He occasionally chooses Persian terms, such as the pejorative term *gabrān* (“Zoroastrians”) to designate the magi in the narrative of the nativity of Jesus.<sup>469</sup>

The relative popularity of Khātūnābādī’s glossed translation stems from the fact that it was a translation made by a Shī‘ī scholar for a Muslim audience. Its main purpose was to strengthen the cultural-religious identity of the Shī‘ī community against the propaganda of Christian missionaries. The translator’s attempt to refute Christian beliefs through a combination of translation and commentary can be seen as a direct reaction to the European influence on late Safavid Persia. In his glosses, Khātūnābādī discusses the alleged inconsistencies and contradictions within and between the Gospels, a common motif of Muslim polemics against Christianity based on the claim of falsification (Arab. *taḥrīf*) of the Scriptures.<sup>470</sup> Throughout his marginal glosses, our Shī‘ī scholar aims to identify chronological, geographical and other kinds of inaccuracies, as well as theological impossibilities.<sup>471</sup>

Khātūnābādī’s anti-Christian agenda is explicitly mentioned in his introduction, in which he accuses the Christians of having tampered with “the divine word” (Pers. *kalām-i yazdānī*) through the writing of a scripture “corresponding to [their] own ideas and will”

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<sup>469</sup> See Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 8; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>3</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (‘aksī), pp. 11-12; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>c</sup>fariyān, 8-9.

<sup>470</sup> On *taḥrīf* in the Muslim tradition, see Gordon D. Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering in the Earliest Commentaries on the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān*, Leiden: Brill, 2011.

<sup>471</sup> For instance, Khātūnābādī interprets Jesus’s dictum in the Gospel of Matthew 7:21a (“Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ will enter the kingdom of heaven”) as a rejection of his communion with the Father. He translates the christological title “Lord” (Arab. *rabb*) by “Provider” (Pers. *parvardagār*). He then glosses on the verse as follows: “Jesus denied his deity and affirmed God’s omnipotence, as Muslims maintain” (Pers. *Ḥāzrat-i Masīḥ salb-i rubūbiyyat az khūd numūda va-iṣbāt-i parvardagārī ba-jīhat-i Khudā kardā chunānchi ahl-i Islām qā‘iland*). See Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 15v:16; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>3</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (‘aksī), p. 28:2; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>c</sup>fariyān, 19:3.

(Pers. *muṣāfiq-i ārā<sup>2</sup> va-khvāhish-i khūd*).<sup>472</sup> As is well known, the accusation of falsification of the Bible has a long tradition in Islam. In accordance with other Muslim scholars, Khātūnābādī presupposes that God revealed a single scripture – the Gospel (Pers. *Injīl*) – to Jesus, which was altered by his disciples and the apostles. The allegedly corrupt Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were then translated by “a Christian” (Pers. *naṣrānī*) into Arabic and brought to Persia.<sup>473</sup>

Khātūnābādī heavily criticized the Christian Arabic register of his *Vorlage*, which appeared to him very different from the Arabic of the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and the Islamic sciences. He stated in detail:

Since it was a Christian who translated the Gospel into the Arabic language, much of the syntax and style is not Arabic. For some expressions, he used uncommon or non-Arabic words and idioms, which cannot be understood without referring to the original Gospel, which is not in Arabic, and without finding many of the terms requested based on stories and usages, which only become clear from outside [the Gospels].

I have examined and studied some of the books and treatises, on which [the Christians] rely and which are available in this country, and I have consulted with many who are acquainted with the original languages [sic!] of the Gospels.<sup>474</sup> The meanings that were clear, I have translated; and what is based on an [external] story and usage or what remained obscure, I

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<sup>472</sup> Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 6r:6-8; Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>ʿ</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 7:9-11; M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba<sup>ʿ</sup>a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān, 4.

<sup>473</sup> In his recent study, Alberto Tiburcio Urquiola erroneously identified the anonymous Christian translator of the Arabic Gospels as the Jesuit missionary Jerónimo Xavier (1549-1617) (see above, Chapter 3.1). See Tiburcio Urquiola, “Convert Literature, Interreligious Polemics, and the ‘Signs of Prophethood’ Genre in Late Safavid Iran (1694-1722): The Work of ʿAlī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. circa 1722),” Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 2014, 64.

<sup>474</sup> Khātūnābādī assumed “the original languages” of the Gospels to be Hebrew (Matthew), Latin (Mark), and Greek (Luke, John). See Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 7r (margin); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>ʿ</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 9 (margin); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba<sup>ʿ</sup>a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>fariyān, 229.

This assumption was not uncommon among Shīʿī Muslims, as indicated by similar statements in the above-mentioned copy of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, Qum, Mar<sup>ʿ</sup>ashī, MS 12058/1-4, fols 1v; 77v (margins), as well as in Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1345.

have commented upon in the margin. [However,] I have not elaborated on their meaning in the original source in order not to abandon the principle of translation.

Wherever I had indication of a contradiction to the false allegations of the Christians or implication of an inconsistency and, in general, of advantage to the Muslims, I also briefly presented them in the margin for the benefit of the seeker of truth and the right way.<sup>475</sup>

The Arabic version of the Gospels, on which Khātūnābādī based his translation, can be identified as the Roman Arabic Vulgate printed by the Medici Oriental Press.<sup>476</sup> The Persian translation closely follows the Vatican revision of the Arabic Vulgate. For instance, the previously mentioned verse on Sodom and Gomorrah in the Gospel of Mark at the end of the Coptic chapter 17 (=the opening section of Mark 6), which was omitted in the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate through the adaptation of the text to the Vulgata, is also omitted in Khātūnābādī's Persian translation.<sup>477</sup> In both, the printed edition as well as Khātūnābādī's literal translation, the Gospels are structured according to the Coptic chapter divisions, with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46

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<sup>475</sup> In Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 3364, fol. 6r:18-6v:15, the original Persian reads as follows:

و بسبب انکه نصرانی که انجیل را بلغت عربی نقل کرده چندان مربوط بسیاق و اسلوب کلام عربی نبوده و در بعضی از عبارات الفاظ غریبه و کلمات غیر عربیه و تراکیب نامانوس و فقرات از ربط مایوس استعمال نموده و فهم مراد از ان بدون رجوع بانجیل اصل که عربی نیست ممکن نبود و یافتن بسیاری از مطالب بر حکایات و اصطلاحاتی که از خارج باید معلوم شود مبتنی مینمود بعضی از کتب و رسایل معتمده ایشان که درین بلاد بهم میرسد تتبع و تحصیل و مکالمات با جمعی که عارف بودند بلغات اصلیه اناجیل نموده آنچه از مقاصدان آن بوضوح رسید در سلک ترجمه کشید و آنچه مبتنی بر حکایت و اصطلاحی یا در عبارت تعقید و اغلاقی بود در حاشیه بیان ان پرداخت و ایضاح انرا در اصل مذکور نساخت تا خارج از قانون ترجمه نباشد و محلی که دلالت بر خلاف دعاوی باطله نصرانیان یا اشتغال بر تناقضی و بالجمله فایده بجهت اسلامیان داشت انرا نیز در حاشیه اجمالاً تعرض کرد تا طالب حق و رشاد بدیدن آن مستفید گردد.

For two slightly different English translations of this passage, see Tiburcio Urquiola, "Convert Literature," 64; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 141.

<sup>476</sup> Kenneth J. Thomas erroneously assumed Khātūnābādī's translation of the Gospels to be based on Erpenius's edition of the New Testament in Arabic, which was printed in Leiden in 1616. See his *A Restless Search*, 142.

<sup>477</sup> See M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arba'a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja<sup>c</sup>fariyān, 83. In contrast to this, the verse on Sodom and Gomorrah appears in Erpenius's edition of the Arabic Vulgate (which has not been harmonized with the Vulgata). For the verse, see *al-ʿAhd al-jadīd*, 105:8-10.



chapters for John. In his glosses, our translator frequently references the Gospels according to these chapter divisions and quotes *verbatim* from the Roman Arabic Vulgate.<sup>478</sup>

Khātūnābādī probably had access to the Medici edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation through missionaries in Isfahan, to whom he frequently refers in his glosses as “Fathers” (Pers. *padriyān*).<sup>479</sup> The missionaries also informed our Shī‘ī scholar about textual differences between the Roman Arabic Vulgate and the “Latin Gospel” (Pers. *Injīl-i lātīnī*), i.e. the Gospels of the Vulgata, which could still be found in the Medici edition (despite the revision by the Vatican *Congregatio Indicis*).<sup>480</sup> There is evidence that Khātūnābādī accessed other Arabic versions of the Gospels, against which he collated the text of the Medici edition.<sup>481</sup> We might speculate that he also consulted the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* (printed in Rome in the 1670s), copies of which were imported into Iran.<sup>482</sup>

Khātūnābādī’s glossed translation of the Gospels can be regarded as the result of the interreligious scholarly encounters between Christianity and Islam of that period. As the Shī‘ī scholar relates in his introduction, he relied in his glosses on several “books and treatises”

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<sup>478</sup> In the margins of his glossed translation (see M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 238, no. 22, 242, no. 62, 247, no. 109, 260, no. 39, 267, no. 14, 268, no. 23, 274, no. 1, 276, no. 10, 277, no. 16, 278-279), Khātūnābādī quotes the following passages (reference is given to the monolingual Arab. version *al-Injīl al-muqaddas*): pp. 14:15-16; 36:15-16; 214:13; 73:5-6; 154:5; 204:17-18; 224:14-15; 291:6; 321:4-5; 342:10; 345:4-5; 346:1-2.

<sup>479</sup> See Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 3364, fols 29v; 31r; 33v; 38v; 63r; 67r (margins); Qum, Markaz-i Ihyā‘-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (‘aksī), pp. 58; 61; 66; 78; 137; 147 (margins); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 244, nos 80 and 84; 245, no. 92; 247, no. 109; 257, no. 19; 259, no. 31.

<sup>480</sup> See Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 3364, fols 33v; 38v; 63r; 65v; 87r (margins); Qum, Markaz-i Ihyā‘-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (‘aksī), pp. 66; 78; 137; 143; 194 (margins); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 245, no. 92; 247, no. 109; 257, no. 18; 258, no. 26; 266, no. 10.

<sup>481</sup> See Qum, Mar‘ashī, MS 3364, fols 33v; 38v; 52v; 79v (margins); Qum, Markaz-i Ihyā‘-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (‘aksī), pp. 66; 78; 111; 177 (margins); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 245, no. 92; 247, no. 109; 252, no. 155; 263, no. 56.

<sup>482</sup> For details, see below, Chapter 5.2.

(Pers. *kutub va-rasāʿil*) by Christian authors. Among these texts was a monolingual Persian dictionary by an unidentified missionary.<sup>483</sup> The Shiʿī scholar quotes four passages in Persian in which the author of the dictionary comments on biblical names and Christian concepts, apparently addressed to a Muslim audience.<sup>484</sup> Khātūnābādī refers to his source as *Kitāb tarjamat al-asmāʾ* (“Book of the Interpretation of Names”), which is said to be “one of the notable books of the Christians” (Pers. *az kutub-i muʿtabara-yi Naṣārā*).<sup>485</sup> This dictionary still remains to be identified.

Furthermore, Khātūnābādī drew on at least one vindication of Christianity, from which he paraphrased a comment on the image of the serpent in the Coptic chapter 7 of the Gospel of John (=John 3:14-15).<sup>486</sup> He refers to the Christian vindication as follows: “One of the Christians who in his own treatise related [...]” (Pers. *baʿzī/yakī az Naṣārā dar risāla-yi khūd āvarda* [...]).<sup>487</sup> The Christian vindication was composed by a certain “Father Gabriel” (Pers. *Pādrī Kibrāʾī*).<sup>488</sup> When Rasūl Jaʿfariyān edited Khātūnābādī’s translation of the

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<sup>483</sup> In contrast to Franco Ometto’s assumption (see his “Khatun Abadi,” 67, n. 34), there is no evidence that the book consulted by Khātūnābādī was a bilingual Persian-Italian dictionary.

<sup>484</sup> Khātūnābādī makes reference to the following terms: Jesus (*Yashūʿ*) – “the God-Redeemer” (Pers. *Khudā-yi khalāṣ-kunanda*), Golgotha (*Jājula*) – a place where “the skulls are buried” (Pers. *madfūn mī-shavad dar ān ruʿūs-i mautā*), Magdalene (*Majdaliyya*) – “possessor of grandeur” (Pers. *ṣāhib-i ʿaẓamat*), and the Paraclete (Pers. *fārqlī*) – no explanation indicated. See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fols 7a; 51r; 52r; 145v (margins); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), pp. 9; 108; 110; 349 (margins); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 231, no.2; 252, nos 149 and 154; 277, no. 18.

<sup>485</sup> Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fol. 7a (margin); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 9 (margin); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 231, no. 2.

<sup>486</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fol. 127r (margin); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 299 (margin); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 274-275, no. 5.

<sup>487</sup> Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fols 41r; 46r; 53v (margins); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), pp. 84; 96; 114 (margins); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 248, no. 117; 249, no. 131; 255, no. 1. For a slightly different passage, see *ibid.*, 259, no. 34.

<sup>488</sup> See Qum, Marʿashī, MS 3364, fol. 127r (margin); Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (ʿaksī), p. 299 (margin); M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arbaʿa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jaʿfariyān, 274, no. 5.

Gospels, he conjectured that “Father Gabriel” was identical with the Capuchin Gabriel de Chinon, the author of the Arabic vindication of Christianity refuted by Tafrishī.<sup>489</sup> However, the image of the serpent is not discussed in Tafrishī’s refutation of de Chinon’s vindication *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*. Khātūnābādī thus might have had access to de Chinon’s original Arabic work (which seems to be lost today) or he drew on a different treatise by another missionary called “Father Gabriel.”

Khātūnābādī’s marginal glosses show that various Christian books in printed and in manuscript form were available to Shī‘ī scholars in Isfahan of the late seventeenth century. Besides the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, other Arabic translations of the Gospels, as well as apologetic Christian writings in Arabic and Persian circulated in the Safavid capital and were consulted by Imāmī authors. The presence of Catholic friars in Persia and their missionary activities were probably the cause for Khātūnābādī’s (and the shāh’s) interest in Western Christianity and the Bible. At the same time, the importation of a printed edition of the Gospels and the sharing of books beyond denominational borders considerably facilitated the production of a Shī‘ī translation and commentary on the sacred Christian Scriptures. Khātūnābādī’s glossed translation demonstrates once more a consecutive Shī‘ī-Catholic history of Persian translations of the Bible in pre-modern Iran.

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<sup>489</sup> See M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arba‘a*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ja‘fariyān, 72 (introduction). In his “Khatun Abadi,” 67, Ometto confounds Gabriel de Chinon (d. 1668) with his Capuchin confrere Gabriel de Paris (d. 1641), who was already dead when Tafrishī met with de Chinon in Georgia in the 1660s. For Tafrishī and his polemical work, see above, Chapter 4.

## 5.2 The Arrival of Printed Copies of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* in Iran

As we have seen earlier, Francesco Ingoli, the secretary of the *Propaganda Fide*, stated in 1625 that it would be desirable to send an Arabic translation not only of the four Gospels but of the entire Bible, i.e. the Old and New Testaments, to the mission in Persia.<sup>490</sup> This was not realized until two generations later through the publication of the so-called *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, the *editio princeps* of the entire Bible in Arabic.<sup>491</sup> The bilingual Arabic-Latin edition was printed in three volumes by the printing press of the *Propaganda Fide* between 1671 and 1673.<sup>492</sup> With the importation and dissemination of printed copies in late Safavid Persia, the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* began, in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, to replace the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate as an important source for Imāmī authors on the Gospels.

This is suggested by the reception of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* by Shīʿī scholars. Although I could not identify printed copies of the edition in present-day libraries in Iran, manuscript copies made by local scribes from the printed edition clearly indicate that the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* was available to Shīʿī Muslims and was studied by them. A manuscript

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<sup>490</sup> For details, see above, Chapter 1.1.

<sup>491</sup> See *Biblia sacra Arabica Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide iussu edita, ad usum ecclesiarum orientalium, additis è regione Bibliis Latinis Vulgatis* (= *al-Kutub al-muqaddasa bi-l-lisān al-ʿarabī maʿa l-nuskha al-lāṭīniyya al-ʿamma al-maṭbūʿa bi-amr al-majmaʿ al-muqaddas al-mutawakkil ʿalā intishār al-īmān al-masīḥī li-manfaʿat al-kanāʾis al-sharqiyya*), 3 vols, Romae: Sacrae Congregat. de Propaganda Fide, 1671-73.

<sup>492</sup> For the history of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, see Paul Féghali, “The Holy Books in Arabic: The Example of the *Propaganda Fide* Edition,” in: Binay and Leder, *Translating the Bible into Arabic*: 37-51; Vollandt, “Che portono al ritorno”; idem, *Arabic Versions*, 113, 129-132, Chapter 5.5. See also Aurélien Girard, “Le christianisme oriental (XVII<sup>e</sup> – XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Essor de l’orientalisme catholique en Europe et construction des identités confessionnelles au Proche-Orient,” Ph.D. dissertation, École pratique des Hautes Études, 2011, 435-454.

copy of the third volume of the edition, which contains the New Testament in Arabic and Latin, is preserved in the undated manuscript Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 2198, 213 fols (blank: 28v; 119v; 129v; 136v; 150v; 154v; 157v; 160v; 182v).<sup>493</sup> In the early eighteenth century, °Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, in his anti-Christian work *Sayf al-mu'minīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn* (“The Sword of the Believers in Battling the Polytheists”), drew on the first volume of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, which contains Genesis and other books of the Old Testament.<sup>494</sup>

In May 1740, Nādir Shāh Afshār (r. 1147/1736-1160/1747) initiated an ambitious interreligious translation enterprise of the sacred Scriptures of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.<sup>495</sup> The shāh entrusted his court historian Mahdī Khān Astarābādī with the translation of various books of the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qur'ān into Persian. He was assisted by other Shī'ī scholars, among them Mīr Ma'ṣūm Khātūnābādī and Mīr °Abd al-Ghanī Khātūnābādī – the son and grandson of Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, as well as

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<sup>493</sup> In Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 2198, fols 0-1 and 1r, we read marginal notes dated Jumādā I 1270 (=January-February 1854) and 15 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1297 (=18 November 1880), as well as seal impressions of °Alī Qulī Mīrzā, dated 1266 (=1849-50), and of the Madrasa library, dated 1297 (=1879-80). For descriptions of this manuscript, see Dānishpazhūh and Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sīpāhsālār*, 3:198; DINĀ, 2:188, no. 33907; FANKHĀ, 4:937.

In MS 2198, fol. 1v:1-2, the *incipit* reads as follows (compare to *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, vol. 3, title-page):

الكتب المقدسة باللسان العربي المترجم من النسخة الاطنية [كذا] العامة المطبوعة بامر المجمع المقدس المتوكل على نشر الدين المسيحي لاجل منفعة الكنائس الشرقية المجلد الثالث.

<sup>494</sup> See °Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, *Tarjuma, sharḥ va naqd-i sifr-i paydāyish-i Tawrāt: Sayf al-mu'minīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn*, ed. R. Ja'fariyān, Qum: Anṣāriyān, 1375/[1996] (repr., Qum: Anṣāriyān, 1382/[2003]); Ja'fariyān, *Ṣafaviyyah*, 3:1017.

On the author and his works, see *ibid.*, 3:1001-1042; Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, “°Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām,” EI<sup>3</sup> (online edition); Tiburcio Urquiola, “Convert Literature.”

<sup>495</sup> On its history, see Fischel, “The Bible in Persian Translation,” 30-42; Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 45-48; *Injil-i Nādirshāhī: Mattā, Marqus, Lūqā va Yūḥannā*, translated by Mahdī Khān Astarābādī with Mīr Ma'ṣūm Khātūnābādī and Mīr °Abd al-Ghanī Khātūnābādī, ed. R. Ja'fariyān, Tihārān: °Ilm, 1388/[2009], 12-23; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 147-165, Chapter 6.3. For the translation of the Psalms, see also Halft, “Crossing the Boundaries between Judaism and Twelver Shī'ī Islam.”

several Jews, Armenians, and Catholic missionaries. The missionaries involved in the translation of the Gospels were the three Italian Carmelites Philip Mary of St. Augustine (1688-1749; Bishop of Isfahan 1736-1749), Thomas Aquinas of St. Francis (1702-1744) and Urban of St. Eliseus (1687-1755), as well as the Dominican friar Raymond Berselli (d. 1764).<sup>496</sup>

A comparison between the Persian translation of the Gospels commissioned by Nādir Shāh, therefore known as the Nādirshāhī translation, and the Arabic version of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* shows that the translation was made from the printed Arabic edition by the *Propaganda Fide*.<sup>497</sup> As confirmed by Philip Mary's report, the Nādirshāhī translation was based on "the Arabic text of the Vulgate [=the Vulgata]."<sup>498</sup> The four Gospels of the Arabic *Vorlage* as well as the Persian translation are structured according to the divisions of the Vulgata, namely in 28 (Matthew), 16 (Mark), 24 (Luke) and 21 (John) chapters (Arab./Pers. *iṣhāh*).<sup>499</sup>

In June 1741, only one year after the request of the shāh, the Persian translation of the Gospels was completed. The bilingual Arabic-Persian manuscript that was presumably

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<sup>496</sup> On the missionaries, see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 2:984-989, 1012-1020; Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 159-160.

<sup>497</sup> The Nādirshāhī translation of the Gospels has recently been edited by Rasūl Jaʿfariyān on the basis of Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Gulistān, MS 2801, 174 fols (see *Injil-i Nādirshāhī*, 25). The text has been collated against Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 18, 112 fols (partly defective, with a slightly different introduction), dated Rajab 1159 (=July-August 1746), as well as Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 6, 203 fols, dated 1746 CE, which used to be in the possession of the Jesuits in Iran [the two manuscripts preserved in Tehran and Rome not seen by me]. For a description of these manuscripts, see *Injil-i Nādirshāhī*, 23-26; Rossi, *Elenco*, 172-173; Blochet, *Catalogue*, 1:6, no. 7; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:43-44.

<sup>498</sup> *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 1:638, n. 1. See also *ibid.*, 634.

<sup>499</sup> An additional division in sections (Arab./Pers. *faṣl*), as it appears in the margins of Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 6, was not included in Jaʿfariyān's edition. For details, see Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 296-298.

presented to Nādir Shāh, and which entered the royal library at an unknown date, is preserved today in Tehran, Millī, MS 480 [2803], 225 fols (own foliation).<sup>500</sup> As we see in Figure 8, the original text of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* is written in black ink, the interlinear word for word translation into Persian appears in red ink. The opening page of each Gospel features a decorative headpiece, as it is common for presentation copies for notables and high-ranking officials. On the title-page of Tehran, Millī, MS 480 appear various notes and seal impressions of the royal library, dated to the nineteenth century.



Figure 8. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Millī-i Irān, MS 480, fol. 105v, The opening of the Gospel of Luke in Arabic

with a Persian interlinear translation, © Kitābhāna-yi Millī-i Irān.

<sup>500</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Anvār et al., *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khattī*, 7:401; DINĀ, 2:174, no. 33547; FANKHĀ, 4:937.

Moreover, there is evidence that the Nādirshāhī translation was consulted by indigenous Christians. An anonymous and undated copy of the Persian translation transcribed in Georgian script is extant in Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Oriental Fund, MS PK 55/60, 707 pp. (no foliation; partly defective). The manuscript indicates that the Nādirshāhī translation of the Gospels also circulated in Georgian communities.<sup>501</sup>

I argue here that the importation of printed copies of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* into Iran sounded the bell for a new phase in Shīʿī-Catholic exchanges. Missionaries now had an instrument at their disposal, in comparison with the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, which contained the entire Bible in Arabic, which was more adapted to the text of the Vulgata, and which was recommended by the Vatican Congregation for the missionary activity of the Roman Church. In addition, an official Persian translation of the Gospels of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, commissioned by Nādir Shāh, contributed to its further dissemination in pre- and early modern Iran. It is thus not surprising that the Roman Arabic Vulgate was gradually superseded by other Arabic and Persian versions of the Gospels, which influenced, in particular, the Shīʿī perception of the Bible in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>501</sup> Portions of Tbilisi, Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Oriental Fund, MS PK 55/60 [not seen by me], namely the opening and ending of each Gospel, have been published by Nikolaj Â. Marr, “Opisanie persidskago rukopisnago Četveroevangeliâ” [Description of a Persian Manuscript of the Four Gospels], *Zapiski Bostočnago otděleniâ Imperatorskago russkago arheologičeskago obščestva* 3 (1888): 377-381 (I thank Adam C. McCollum for making the article accessible to me). A collation of Marr’s adduced Persian text transcribed in Cyrillic script against Jaʿfariyān’s edition *Injil-i Nādirshāhī* suggests that MS PK 55/60 contains the same Persian translation of the Gospels made from the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*. Kenneth J. Thomas’s assumption that MS PK 55/60 contains Khātūnābādī’s Persian translation of the Gospels (see his *A Restless Search*, 137, n. 93, 139) is thus unjustified. For a description of MS PK 55/60, see also Gulbenkian, “The Translation,” 44-45.



## Conclusion: An Intellectual Network between Egypt, Rome, and Persia

In Safavid Persia of the seventeenth century, Imāmī scholars turned their attention to Christianity and composed the earliest known Persian polemical writings entirely devoted to the refutation of Christian beliefs. They studied the Gospels intensely, translated them into Persian, and commented on numerous passages, many of which rarely appear in collections of biblical verses adduced by earlier Muslim polemicists. While the alleged inconsistencies and contradictions within the same Gospel, between each of the four Gospels, and the disparities they contain in relation to the Hebrew Bible constituted a traditional motif in Muslim anti-Christian works, the large number of Gospel verses quoted in Shī'ī polemics from pre-modern Iran is noteworthy. The emergence of a literary genre of Persian refutations of Christianity by Shī'ī Muslims in the seventeenth century was no coincidence, but occurred in the context of a religio-political confrontation between the Shī'ī clergy and Catholic missionaries.

With the arrival of friars from various religious orders in the Safavid capital of Isfahan, the first printed books became available in Persia. Among the works imported from Europe was the edition of the Gospels in Arabic translation by the Medici Oriental Press in Rome, dating from 1590/91 CE. As early as 1608, Shī'ī scholars had access to the private library of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan, where they consulted the Medici edition of the Gospels as well as other biblical books in Arabic. The twofold agenda of the friars as political envoys and missionaries and their increasing influence at the royal court made the Shī'ī clergy suspicious of them. In oral debates and disputations with Catholic representatives, Shī'ī

scholars sought to challenge Christianity on its own ground by producing a pro-Muslim interpretation of the sacred Scriptures of the Christians. The availability of the Gospels in printed form in a language used by Shīʿī Muslims was an important factor for the development of an Imāmī exegesis of the Bible in Persian as found in their anti-Christian polemical works.

The Medici edition of the Gospels contained what I call the Roman Arabic Vulgate, a revision of a medieval Arabic version of the Gospels known as the Arabic Vulgate, which was translated by Coptic and/or Syriac Christians from various *Vorlagen* in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic. Its publication in Rome was the result of conjoined scholarly, commercial, and missionary interests. Prior to the printing of the text, individual verses were harmonized, under the supervision of the Vatican Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books, with the *Vulgata* – the official Latin version of the Bible for the Roman Church.

The Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate was based on a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript of Coptic provenance, completed in the Monastery of St. John the Little in Wādī al-Naṭrūn (ancient Scetis) and brought to Rome under circumstances that still remain to be clarified. When printed copies of the Medici edition were imported into the Safavid Empire, the Roman Arabic Vulgate was further disseminated among Shīʿī Muslims through handwritten transcripts of the printed edition. What first appeared to be an innovative missionary instrument for the evangelization of Muslims and non-Catholics in the Middle East soon became the standard textual source for Imāmī authors on the Gospels in the seventeenth century, until the arrival of copies of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* edition by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at the turn of the century.

This new connectivity between Coptic Egypt, late Renaissance Rome, and Safavid Persia manifests a trans-regional intellectual network that has so far remained unnoticed by students of the history of Iran as well as of the history of Arabic Bible translations. The intercultural dynamics of this network are evidenced in numerous citations from the Roman Arabic Vulgate, which appear in the Persian vindication of Christianity by the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle and the different Arabic and Persian anti-Christian works by the Shī'ī scholars Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavī and Zāhīr al-Dīn Tafriṣhī. When Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī translated the Gospels into Persian, he based his translation on the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate, too. Although Persian translations of the Gospels and other biblical books from pre-Safavid times circulated among indigenous Christians, they do not seem to have been accessible to Imāmī scholars of the seventeenth century. In any case, to combat the newly arrived missionaries, it was more effective to draw upon the Arabic version of the Gospels that was used by the friars in Shī'ī-Catholic disputations, and which was a quasi-official version authorized by the Roman Church.

The presence of missionaries from Europe and the dissemination of biblical books in Arabic, some of which were in printed editions, provoked strong Shī'ī opposition. Interreligious controversies were initially performed through oral debates in private houses and/or in public, sometimes in the presence of Muslim notables and rulers. They were continued in written form through the exchange of numerous refutations and counter-refutations of the doctrines of the other religion by individual scholars as well as by theological commissions. For several decades, a cascade of polemical texts in Arabic and Persian was exchanged between Isfahan and the Vatican, establishing a new form of communication between theologians and exegetes in East and West.

The history of the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia shows how Christian Arabic versions of the Bible from the Middle Islamic period transcended the cultural, linguistic, and religious boundaries of the Arabic-speaking parts of the world of Islam under the influence of Western Christendom. In the context of a universalistic Catholic mission and the emergence of a new printing technology in Arabic, Shī'ī scholars in pre-modern Iran had direct access to a translation of the Gospels on which they relied (besides Muslim sources for biblical material) to refute Christian beliefs and to prove the veracity of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. Printed editions of Arabic translations of the Bible had global repercussions and offered a new framework for the Muslim reception of the sacred Scriptures of the Christians.

With the advent of printing in Arabic letters and the dissemination of printed books by missionaries in the Middle East, a new phase was entered in Muslim-Christian history and, in particular, in Twelver Shī'ī-Catholic relations. This dissertation hopes to encourage future research on the influence of Arabic Bible printing on the perception of Christianity by Muslim scholars in early modern Islamicate societies.

## Appendices

### 1 Inventory of Manuscripts of °Alavī's *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī*

*Lavāmi°-i rabbānī* is extant in three different recensions, at least two of which have been produced and/or authorized by °Alavī, as evidenced by autographical notes in the manuscripts examined in this study.<sup>502</sup> Although there are two (partial) prints of *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī*, each based on a single manuscript, a critical edition of the work is still lacking.<sup>503</sup> All three recensions are structured in two untitled chapters (Pers. *bāb*), in which °Alavī quotes eighteen passages from the *Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm-i Pāpā bi-jānib-i khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad dar ba°zī umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyān*, to each of which he replies in detail.<sup>504</sup> In addition, we read in the revised version of *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī* two pseudo-citations which, however, could not be identified with Della Valle's Persian vindication of Christianity.<sup>505</sup>

The earliest recension of *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī* is extant in four manuscripts (=Manuscript Group 1/1-3), the first of which is Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83, completed in mid-1622 CE. This is about seven months after the date in the prologue to

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<sup>502</sup> This question had to remain unanswered in my previous study. See Halft, "Schītische Polemik," 276.

<sup>503</sup> For the prints of *Lavāmi°-i rabbānī*, see the notes to the manuscripts listed below. Ḥāmid Nājī Iṣfahānī is currently preparing an edition of the work, based on the below-mentioned manuscript that used to be in the possession of M. °A. Rawzātī.

<sup>504</sup> For details, see Halft, "Schītische Polemik," 299.

<sup>505</sup> See Qum, Mar°ashī, MS 2400, fols 148v:10-149r:8; 149v:10-150v:5; Edinburgh, University Library, MS Or 372, fols 130r:9-130v:4; 131r:5-131v:10; Rasht, Jam°iyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī, MS 293 L, fols 124v:5-125r:4; 125v:6-126r:12; Tehran, Dā°irat al-ma°ārif, 1639/1, pp. 269:6-270:3 (the folio that includes the second pseudo-citation is missing).

*Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*, Muḥarram 1031 AH (=November-December 1621). Except for one manuscript preserved in Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 8998, this recension circulated among Europeans and was brought to the attention of the Vatican.

An abridged version of the earliest recension, which I call the second recension of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*, is extant in two manuscripts (=Manuscript Group 2), the earliest of which, Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 10, is dated to the late 1640s (and thus, perhaps, after <sup>c</sup>Alavī's death). There is no indication in the manuscripts to justify the assumption that the abridgement was produced by the author. In addition, there is no evidence that this version circulated among Shī<sup>c</sup>ī audiences (but exclusively among Europeans). The second recension was printed by Ḥasan Sa<sup>c</sup>īd in the mid-1980s.

Sometime after the completion of <sup>c</sup>Alavī's *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>* at the end of 1622 CE, our Shī<sup>c</sup>ī scholar revised and extended *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* through the incorporation of more biblical material. The *terminus post quem* for the revision of the earlier treatise is indicated by additions in <sup>c</sup>Alavī's hand that appear in the margins of Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. <sup>c</sup>A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, in which *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>2</sup>* is frequently referenced.<sup>506</sup> This revised recension of the author was disseminated mainly in Iran and studied by Shī<sup>c</sup>ī scholars up to the nineteenth century. It is extant today in six manuscripts (=Manuscript

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<sup>506</sup> See Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. <sup>c</sup>A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, fols 59v (outer margin); 90r:9-10; 96r (outer margin); 99v (inner margin).

These additions have been incorporated into Edinburgh, University Library, MS Or 372, fols 74v:14; 110r:3; 117r:1-5; Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 7591/1, fols 89v:10; 129r:3; 137r:3-7; 141r:6-9; Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 8998, fols 86v:2; 125v:2; 133r:6-10; Rasht, Jam<sup>c</sup>īyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī, MS 293 L, pp. 198:10; 215:5-9; Tehran, Dā<sup>2</sup>irat al-ma<sup>c</sup>ārif, 1639/1, pp. 62:5; 229:7.

Group 3/1-2), in which the ending of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* varies, depending on the manuscript concerned.<sup>507</sup>

Since the thirteen manuscript copies of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* are dated, they are listed here in chronological order.<sup>508</sup> The manuscript preserved in Najaf, Iraq, which was not accessible to me, is indicated in square brackets:

- 1 Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83, 190 fols, completed on 5 Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 1031 AH (=15 June 1622) by Ṣadr ad-Dīn ibn Ja<sup>c</sup>far <sup>c</sup>Alī (=Manuscript Group 1/1).<sup>509</sup>
- 2 Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 11, 195 fols, completed on 5 Ramaḍān 1031 AH (=14 July 1622) by Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Malik <sup>c</sup>Alī Iṣfahānī (=Manuscript Group 1/2).<sup>510</sup>
- 3 Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. <sup>c</sup>A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, 109 fols, of which 86r-93v are penned entirely in <sup>c</sup>Alavī's hand; with numerous emendations, additions, and corrections by <sup>c</sup>Alavī throughout the margins; on the

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<sup>507</sup> While both manuscripts of Group 3/1, namely Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. <sup>c</sup>A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, and Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 7591/1, end with the epilogue *Sharafhā-yi ān ḥaẓrat* ("Reverence to the Prophet"), Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 2400 instead discusses two pseudo-citations from Della Valle's *Risāla* (see Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 313-314, 324 ["DV 19, 20"]). The other manuscripts of Group 3/2, namely Edinburgh, University Library, MS Or 372, Rasht, Jam<sup>c</sup>īyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī, MS 293 L, and Tehran, Dā'irat al-ma<sup>c</sup>ārif, 1639/1, combine both elements.

<sup>508</sup> Previous reference works listing numerous copies of the work, such as Dhari<sup>c</sup>a, 18:366-367, no. 490; Mu<sup>c</sup>jam, 4:574, no. 10208, and DINĀ, 8:1106 (in fact, the listed numbers 237561 and 237562 refer to the same manuscript), are still incomplete. In 2010, when I published my study "Schiitische Polemik," eleven manuscripts of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* were known to me, eight of which I could examine at that time. See Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 276-277.

<sup>509</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Edward G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge: University Press, 1896, 7-9, no. 7; idem, "Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-islāmiyya bi-Maktabat Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at Kambrij: al-qism al-khāmis. Tarjamat d. Yaḥya al-Jubūrī," *al-Mawrid* 10 iii-iv (1981): 417-430, esp. 429; Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 314-315 (=C1).

<sup>510</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 36-38; Halft, "Schiitische Polemik," 316-317 (=V).

- front page, we read an ownership statement by M. °A. Rawzātī (=Manuscript Group 3/1).<sup>511</sup>
- 4 Qum, Mar°ashī, MS 7591/1, fols 1-153 (own foliation), dedicated to Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (“Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn,” d. 1036/1626); with some corrections in °Alavī’s hand in the margins (=Manuscript Group 3/1).<sup>512</sup>
- 5 Tehran, Dā°irat al-ma°ārif, 1639/1 (°aksī), 274 pp. (no foliation); the folios need to be rearranged as follows (with pages indicated): 1-30, 127-190, 95-126, 31-94, 191-274 (defective at the beginning, as well as between 271 and 272); dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1039/1629-1052/1642), completed on 27 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1038 AH (=17 August 1629) by Ṣadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ja°far °Alī (who has copied 127:2-274; a second, unidentified hand has penned 2-30, 127:1-2); with a partial Persian interlinear translation of Arabic poetic, qur°ānic, and biblical verses written in °Alavī’s hand; on the front page, we read an ownership statement by Kāzīm Qāsim Ḥusaynī Rashtī (=Manuscript Group 3/2).<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>511</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 169-181, no. 43; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 324-325 (=R). For some of °Alavī’s emendations, additions, and corrections, see Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, fols 7v (below); 8r; 10r (above and below); 13v (above); 19r; 28r; 30r; 55v; 57; 58r; 59v; 64v (below); 67r; 70v; 73v; 74r; 79r (above); 96r; 99v; 105r; 106v; 108r (below) (all margins). My previous assumption that Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, was no autograph manuscript of the work (see Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 275, 325) is thus unjustified. The current location of the manuscript is unknown to me.

<sup>512</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna*, 19:404; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 321-322 (=M2). For some of °Alavī’s additions and corrections, see Qum, Mar°ashī, MS 7591/1, fols 14v; 94v; 95r; 124v (all margins).

<sup>513</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi °aksī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Dā°irat al-Ma°ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī*, vol. 1-, Tihārān: Markaz-i Dā°irat al-Ma°ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī, 1382-/[2003-], 1:336.



- 6 Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 10, 92 fols, completed in 1058 AH (=1648-49); Francis Richard has suggested that the copy was made at the request of the Dominican Paolo Piromalli during his sojourn in Isfahan between 1647 and 1652; on fol. 1v, we read the seal impression of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, dated 1720 CE (=Manuscript Group 2).<sup>514</sup>
- 7 San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1622, 279 fols (erroneous foliation in part), of which most of the recto folios are blank, probably for a translation that remained unfinished; directly copied from BNF, MS Suppl. persan 10, including the date 1058 AH (=1648-49), presumably by Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (=Manuscript Group 2).<sup>515</sup>
- 8 Edinburgh, University Library, MS Or 372, 144 fols (own foliation), copied by Muḥammad Ḥusayn; with the seal impressions of Fāzil-Khān, dated 1114 AH (=1702-03), and Rushd-Khān Ḥasanī on the front page; with the appended epilogue *Sharafhā-yi ān ḥaḏrat* on fols 134v-143v, as it appears in the manuscripts of the Groups 1, 2, and 3/1 (=Manuscript Group 3/2).<sup>516</sup>

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For the interlinear translation in °Alavī's hand, see Tehran, Dā'irat al-ma'ārif, 1639/1, pp. 8:12; 10:11-12; 16:8; 17:7-8; 19:4-10; 21:11; 22:2-4; 29:3; 127:6-7; 128:3, 5; 137:7-11; 139:5-6; 169:1 (erased); 170:10-11; 115:6-7; 116:10; 117:2-3, 9-10; 119:1 (all Pers. lines).

<sup>514</sup> A microfilm of Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 10 is available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 4200 F. Ḥasan Sa'īd used the microfilm as textual *Vorlage* for his publication of °Alavī, "*Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*," ed. Sa'īd. For details, see Halft, "Schīitische Polemik," 326 (=S).

For descriptions of MS Suppl. persan 10, see Blochet, *Catalogue*, 1:34-35, no. 54; Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfīlmhā*, 3:30; Halft, "Schīitische Polemik," 319-320 (=P); Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:48. On the Dominican missionary, see Halft, "Paolo Piromalli."

<sup>515</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Hartwig Dérenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, 3 vols, Paris: Leroux, 1884-1928, 3:168; Halft, "Schīitische Polemik," 320-321 (=E). For the scribe of the copy, see Richard, "Le Franciscain," esp. 94-95.

<sup>516</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Mohammed Ashraful Hukk et al., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, Edinburgh: Austin, 1925, 328.

- 9 Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 8998, 118 fols (partly defective between 25v and 65r, into which two folios of another work have been inserted, written by hands that are different from the scribe of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*); dated in the colophon to 18 Shawwāl 1117 AH (=2 February 1706) by Muḥammad Rizā ibn Muḥammad Hāshim Harmījardī (!); on the front page, we read a bequest statement of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1076/1666-1105/1694), dated Dhū l-Qa<sup>c</sup> da 1107 AH (=June-July 1696), in which Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī is mentioned (=Manuscript Group 1/3).<sup>517</sup>
- 10 Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 2400, 155 fols (with a *lacuna* between 68r and 68v), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī, completed on 8 Ramaḍān 1204 AH (=22 May 1790); with a note dated 1195 AH (=1780-81) and the seal impressions of Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad and Abū l-Ḥasan on the front page (=Manuscript Group 3/2).<sup>518</sup>
- 11 [Najaf, Maktabat al-Ḥusayniyya al-Shūshtariyya, MS 319/2, completed in 1230 AH (=1814-15) by Hāshim Mūsawī Linjānī; since the Maktabat al-Ḥusayniyya al-Shūshtariyya was destroyed in the 1980s, the whereabouts of the manuscript collection remain unclear].<sup>519</sup>
- 12 Rasht, Jam<sup>c</sup>’iyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī, MS 293 L, 283 pp. (no foliation; defective between 161 and 162), completed on 7 Dhū l-Qa<sup>c</sup> da 1233 AH (=8 September 1818) by

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<sup>517</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna*, 23:158-159; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 317-319 (=M1).

<sup>518</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna*, 6:379-380; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 323-324 (=M3).

<sup>519</sup> I thank Amir Jaje for this information. For descriptions of Najaf, Maktabat al-Ḥusayniyya al-Shūshtariyya, MS 319/2, see Asadullāh Ismā‘īliyyān and Rizā Ustādī, “Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Ḥusayniyya-yi Shūshtarīhā dar Najaf az āghāyān Asadullāh Ismā‘īliyyān va dānishmand-girāmī Rizā Ustādī. Az in fihrist-i mā ba āṣār-i dānishmandān-i Najaf bishtar āgāh mī-shavīm,” *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī (Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī va Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān)* 11-12 (1362/1983): 787-879, esp. 853; Halft, “Schiitische Polemik,” 325 (=N).

Salīm ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm Khurram-Kāmī; with the appended epilogue *Sharafhā-yi ān ḥaẓrat* on pp. 259-281, as it appears in the manuscripts of the Groups 1, 2, and 3/1, as well as in Edinburgh, University Library, MS Or 372 (=Manuscript Group 3/2).<sup>520</sup>

- 13 Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.6.29, 186 fols (partly defective between 8v and 9r, with various *lacunae* throughout the text); directly copied from MS Dd.6.83, including its colophon, by an inexperienced European hand, certainly before 1824 (=Manuscript Group 1/1).<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Muḥammad Rawshan et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i kitābkhānahā-yi Rasht va Hamadān*, Tihārān: Intishārāt-i Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn, 1353/[1974], 1161 (repr. in: idem, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Jamʿiyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Rasht*, Tihārān: Markaz-i Pizhūhishī-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1387/[2008], 85, no. 322). In contrast to my previous assumption (see Halft, “Schīitische Polemik,” 325 [=Ra]), Rasht, Jamʿiyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī, MS 293 L indeed comprises a copy of *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*. The opening section of the text, however, differs from all other manuscripts that were accessible to me.

<sup>521</sup> This was probably the textual *Vorlage* for the excerpts from *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*, published and translated into English by Samuel Lee, *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism. By the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. of St. John’s College, Cambridge, and some of the most eminent writers of Persia translated and explained: to which is appended an additional tract on the same question, and, in a preface, some account given of a former controversy on this subject, with extracts from it (...)*, Cambridge: J. Smith, 1824, i-cxxvii. See also Halft, “Schīitische Polemik,” 325 (=L).

For descriptions of Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.6.29, see Browne, *A Catalogue*, 9-10, no. 8; idem, “Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt,” 429; Halft, “Schīitische Polemik,” 315-316 (=C2).

## 2 Inventory of Manuscripts of °Alavī's *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*

*Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* is extant in three different recensions by the author. An examination of the manuscripts consulted for this study shows that °Alavī repeatedly revised his treatise after its completion in Muḥarram 1032 (=November-December 1622). All versions of the work are comprised of three chapters (Pers. *faṣl*), on the essence of God, the divine nature of Jesus, and the ordinances of the Gospel, in which °Alavī quotes, depending on the recension concerned, fifty-two or fifty-five passages from J. Xavier's abridged version of *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*.<sup>522</sup> The different versions of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* vary in relation to the number of biblical verses adduced by the author in evidence of the alleged inconsistency of the Christian doctrine and the veracity of the Muslim belief. As a rule, the later the recension, the more citations from the Scriptures appear in the text.

The earliest version of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* is extant in three manuscripts (=Manuscript Group 1), of which the earliest one is Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614. The main body of the manuscript text comprises the earliest recension of °Alavī's anti-Christian treatise (which was copied into Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 1592/1 and MS Suppl. persan 11 during the first half of the seventeenth century). MS 34614 shows that °Alavī revised his work extensively through his numerous handwritten marginal emendations, additions, and corrections. It may well be "the first copy that the author inspected [and] corrected," as suggested by a note on

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<sup>522</sup> The headings of the chapters read as follows: (1) *Dar ma'rifat-i zāt-i Ḥaqq-i ta'ālā*; (2) *Dar ḥaqq-i ḥaẓrat-i 'Īsā khudāvand-i mā*; (3) *Dar aḥkām-i Kitāb-i Injil*.

the front page.<sup>523</sup> Manuscript evidence suggests that the earliest recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ* circulated mainly among Europeans.

A fair copy of the author's first revision, which I call the second recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ*, is preserved in Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5. As previously mentioned, MS Borg. pers. 5 was brought by the Carmelites to Rome, where it provoked repercussions from the officials of the Vatican. The manuscript was reproduced at least twice (Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 39/5; San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555) and translated into Italian for the use of a pontifical commission of theologians (as evidenced by Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 310; Rome, BNCR, MS Ebor. 20; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 541). All of the aforementioned manuscripts of the second recension circulated and/or were copied in Rome (=Manuscript Group 2/1).

A slightly different version of the second recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ* is extant in three manuscripts (=Manuscript Group 2/2), the earliest of which, Tehran, Malik, MS 2143/1, is dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 996/1588-1038/1629). It was thus completed before the shāh's death in 1629 CE. Two other copies of the same version, Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 12 and MS Suppl. persan 13/2, suggest that it also circulated among missionaries. In contrast, another slightly different version of the second recension of ʿAlavī's work was transmitted exclusively among Shīʿī audiences in Iran (=Manuscript Group 2/3). Its earliest manuscript, Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257, was copied during the second half of the seventeenth century (and thus after the death of ʿAlavī).

During the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1039/1629-1052/1642), ʿAlavī considerably revised his anti-Christian treatise by incorporating additional material, in particular biblical passages

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<sup>523</sup> For details, see below.

such as citations from the Jewish Scriptures in a Perso-Arabic transcription of the Hebrew.<sup>524</sup>

°Alavī's later revision that I call the third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* is extant in thirteen manuscript copies, all of which were written and circulated in Iran (=Manuscript Group 3). One copy, Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, was completed at the end of 1632 CE; four other copies (Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256; Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 15610; Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F [°aksī]; Tehran, a private collection of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī, MS without shelfmark) were glossed by °Alavī. The third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* widely circulated in Iran and was reproduced up to the nineteenth century. It is the version that was most readily available to Shī'ī audiences in Iran.

The third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* was edited by Ḥāmid Nāji Iṣfahānī in 1994 on the basis of Tehran, a private collection of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī, MS without shelfmark (which was not accessible to me).<sup>525</sup> The editor also consulted the manuscripts preserved in Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, Tehran, a private collection of the late Ja'far Mīr Dāmādī, MS without shelfmark (of which photographs are available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F [°aksī]), and Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256.<sup>526</sup> The editor, however, did not pay attention to the transmission history of the text. When Iṣfahānī published his edition, he was unaware of the existence of different recensions of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* by the author.

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<sup>524</sup> For details, see Halft, "Hebrew Bible Quotations." A comparison between the third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'* and the second version of the work, as extant in Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257, shows that about a fifth of °Alavī's later recension does not appear in the earlier one (reference is given to °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, ed. Iṣfahānī): pp. 114:9-115:13; 156:1-14; 161:5-162:5; 181:4-19; 183:25-184:9; 184:16-185:1; 189:21-190:3; 193:14-16, 19-21; 195:3-6; 195:17-196:12; 199:19-201:12; 204:6-10; 208:10-16; 211:17-18; 214:1-3; 220:15-19; 224:10-225:22; 226:19-227:5; 229:17-231:4; 232:2-24; 237:5-238:14; 244:18-245:10; 253:15-255:15; 257:15-258:16; 263:5-13; 264:2-266:16.

<sup>525</sup> See °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā'*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 102-103.

<sup>526</sup> See *ibid.*, 103-104.

°Alavī's anti-Christian treatise is extant in twenty-five manuscript copies known until now (as well as three copies of the previously described Italian translation).<sup>527</sup> As far as the copies and miscellanies are dated, they are listed here in chronological order. Twenty-four manuscripts were accessible for this study (the one that was not available to me is indicated in square brackets). However, I could not clarify the whereabouts of the two manuscript copies described by Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī in his Shī'ī bibliographical survey *al-Dharī'a*.<sup>528</sup> They used to be preserved in the private collections of Naṣrallāh al-Taḡawī and Shaykh Muḡammad Sulṭān al-Mutakallimīn in Tehran. One of them or both might be identical to the manuscripts listed below:

- 1 Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, 60 fols; on the front page (see Figure 9), we read the following note: “The first copy that the author – [abbreviated by the truncated letter] ‘ṣ[ād] – inspected [and] corrected by his hand” (Pers. *nuskha-yi ūlā ka janāb-i muṣannif – ‘ṣ[ād] – mulāḡaḡa farmūda bi-khaṭṭ-i sharīf taṣḡih numūda*); °Alavī designated his numerous emendations, additions, and corrections throughout the copy by the (single) siglum ∞ (representing *muṣannif* [“author”]) (see the margins of fols 15v; 22r; 25; 27v; 32r [above]; 37v; 44; 45; 46r [below]; 46v; 47r; 48; 49; 52r [left]; 56v; 57r; 58; 59r); on the front page, we also read the undated *ex-libris* of the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan (“Ex libris conuentus Hispahensis Carmelitarum

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<sup>527</sup> Previous reference works listing several copies of the work, such as Dhari'a, 21:130-131, no. 4275; Aḡmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭ-i fārsī*, 6 vols, Tihirān: Mu'assasa-yi Farhangī-i Miṇṭaḡa'ī, 1348-53/[1969-74], 2:989; idem, *Fihristvāra-yi kitābhā-yi fārsī*, vol. 1-, Tihirān: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1374-/[1995-96-], 9:531-532; Mu'jam, 5:136, no. 10872; DINĀ, 9:692 (in fact, the listed numbers 258063 and 258064 refer to the same manuscript), are still incomplete. For the Italian translation of *Miṣḡal-i safā*, see above, Chapter 3.3.

<sup>528</sup> See Dhari'a, 21:131.

Discalceatorum”); with a Latin gloss in the margin of fol. 32r; the MS was endowed to the Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad by Shāhrukh Tarraqī in 1386 SH (=2007) (=Manuscript Group 1).

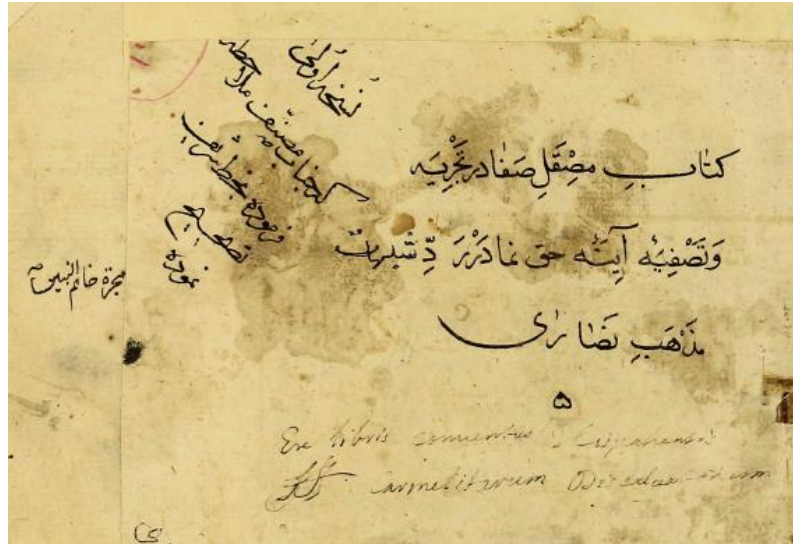


Figure 9. Mashhad, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fol. 1r (detail), The title-page of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*<sup>2</sup> with the ex-libris of the convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan, © Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds.

- 2 Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fols 5r-175v, undated copy by two unidentified scribes (fols 5r-172r; 172v-174v); with a note signed by °Alavī (see Figure 10), in which the author expresses his hope to convince the Christian addressee of his work of the Muslim doctrine (see fol. 175); the MS was presented to the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan and brought to Rome, where it arrived in April 1625 CE; in Rome, the MS was used as the textual *Vorlage* for the previously mentioned translation into Italian (=Manuscript Group 2/1).<sup>529</sup>

<sup>529</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 163. In Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 175, °Alavī’s note in the original Persian reads as follows:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ نَسْتَعِينُ بِالْعَلِيمِ الْحَكِيمِ بِنَابِرِ حُكْمِ آيَةِ «أَمَّا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثْ» چنين كويد مؤلف اين اوراق و



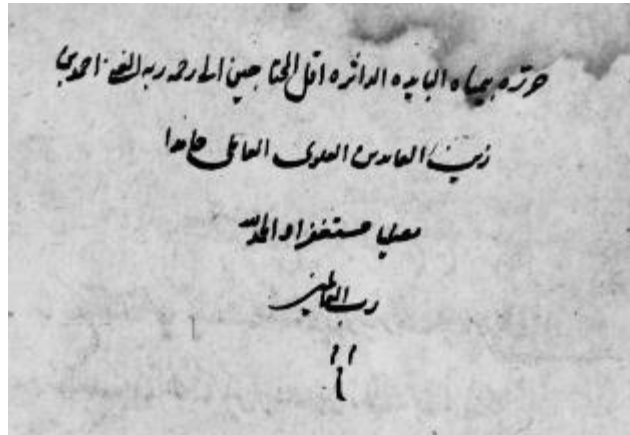


Figure 10. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borg. pers. 5, fol. 175v (detail), The end of *Miṣqal-i šafāʿ* with Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī's signature, © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

- 3 Tehran, Malik, MS 2143/1, pp. 1-151 (no foliation; blank: 147; 149); the folios need to be rearranged as follows (with pages indicated): 1-65; 74-93; 66-73; 94-151 (defective between 31 and 32; 65 and 74; 93 and 66; as well as 73 and 94); dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās I; since the MS was copied by the same hand as Malik, MS 2143/2 (which comprises a copy of ʿAlavī's *Risāla dar radd-i Mawlā Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī*, composed in 1034/1624-25), it can be established that both manuscripts were penned after 1624/25 (but presumably before ʿAbbās I's death in 1629); on the front page, we see the seal impressions of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1204 AH (=1789-90), and

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مُصَنَّفُ این أَطْبَاقُ که این رساله انیق و عجاله وثیق بارقهُ از وادی اَیْمَن قُدُس و شارقهُ حریم خلوت اُنس است و شستان ضمیر عقده کشایان بنور او مستنیر و حدایق بساتین دو شناسان از چشمه حیات ان مستنیز است بل کائها کواکب فی بُرُجِ جواهر فی دُرُجِ عباراتش چون موعِد غید مبهج ارواح و اشاراتش چون مورد عید مُنتج ارتیاح است بنظر رسید فقط سهوی در صفحات آن ندید پیوسته توفیقات آلهی قرین حال و همواره تاییدات نامتناهی قرین امانی و امال بوده فیوضات اسمانی بر دوام وفتوحات دو جهانی مستدام باد خرزهِ بمیاه البایده الدائرهِ اقل المحتاجین الی رحمهِ ربه الغنی احمد بن زین العابدین العلوی العاملی حامدا مصلیا مستغفرا و الحمد لله رب العالمین.

- Ibn Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, dated 125[?] AH (=between 1834 and 1843) (=Manuscript Group 2/2).<sup>530</sup>
- 4 Vatican, BAV, MS Pers. 39/5, fols 55r-71r (unfinished; comprises the prologue and the beginning of the first chapter), directly copied from BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5; the MS is part of a miscellany written in Rome and dated to August 1625 CE; it was in the possession of the Franciscan language school of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome (=Manuscript Group 2/1).<sup>531</sup>
- 5 Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, 256 fols, completed in Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 1042 AH (=October-November 1632) by Vajih al-Dīn ibn Ismā<sup>c</sup>īl; on the front page, we read a possession statement by a certain <sup>c</sup>Umar (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>532</sup>
- 6 Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256 [Hekmat 256], 167 fols (own foliation; defective between fols 161v and 162r, as well as 165v and 166r), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; with glosses in <sup>c</sup>Alavī's hand on fol. 1v (margins); on the front page, we see an oval seal impression reading "Allāh Muḥammad <sup>c</sup>Alī" (probably of the royal Safavid libraries), dated 1030 AH (=1620-21), the date 1[0]34 AH (=1624-25), as well as an endowment note by Nādir Shāh Afshār (r. 1736-47), dated to Rajab 1145 (=December-January 1732) (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>530</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Īraj Afshār and Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, 12 vols, Tih-rān: Kitābkhāna, 1352-75/[1973-96], 5:431 (the manuscript is erroneously listed under the shelfmark no. 2134/1).

<sup>531</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 67-68.

<sup>532</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see I'tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 14:169-170. The manuscript is erroneously listed under the shelfmark no. 4939 in Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, 2:989, no. 9111, and Mu<sup>c</sup>jam, 5:136, no. 10872. For a facsim. of the last folio with the colophon, see <sup>c</sup>Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 109.

<sup>533</sup> Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 256 was submitted for registration (Pers. <sup>c</sup>arz) in Shawwāl 1287 AH (=December-January 1870-71), on 5 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 1289 (=12 June 1872), 16 Shawwāl 1292 (=15 November

- 7 Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 15610, 124 fols (defective at the beginning, between 1v and 2r, and at the end); with some emendations and additions in ʿAlavī’s hand (see fols 45r; 46v; 47r [above, inner margin, below]); the MS was endowed to the Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad by Shams al-Dīn Vāʿiẓ Tihrānī (Pūrdād) in 1366 SH (=1987) (=Manuscript Group 3).
- 8 Tehran, Dānishgāh, 3531 F (ʿaksī), 152 fols (own foliation; defective between fols 146v and 147r, as well as at the end), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; on fols 1v; 2r; 3r (margins), we read glosses in ʿAlavī’s hand; with the seal impression of Abū Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī on the front page (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>534</sup>
- 9 [Tehran, a private collection of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī, MS without shelfmark, unspecified number of folios, with glosses in ʿAlavī’s hand; after Naṣīrī’s death, his manuscript collection was sold in portions to the Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, the Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Īrān (both in Tehran), the Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā Marʿashī (Qum), and the Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds (Mashhad);

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1875), 7 Rajab 1297 (=15 June 1880), and 23 Jumāda II 1312 (=22 December 1894) (see the ʿarẓ notes on fols 1v; 165; 166r; 167r). On fol. 1v, the ʿarẓ notes are accompanied by the seal impressions of [Abū] l-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1270 (=1853-54), and Ḥājib al-ʿataba al-ʿaliyya Sulṭān Muḥammad, dated [12]89 (=1872-73).

For descriptions of this manuscript, see Dhariʿa, 21:131; Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 1:217-218; Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʿī*, 526; Kāẓim Mudīr Shānachī et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i dū kitābkhāna-yi Mashhad (Madrasa-yi Navāb, Āstān-i Quds)*, vol. 1-, Tihrān: Intishārat-i Farhang-i Īrān-i Zamīn, 1351-[1972-], 2:1014. For a facsim. of fol. 1v with glosses in ʿAlavī’s hand, see ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 110. On the seal impression dated 1030 AH, see Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:303, 648.

<sup>534</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilmhā*, 3:173. The photographs were presumably taken from a copy that used to be preserved in Tehran, a private collection of the late Jaʿfar Mīr Dāmādī, MS without shelfmark (for details, see Halfi, “Hebrew Bible Quotations,” 238, n. 12; ʿAlavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 103-104). The present location of the manuscript is unknown to me.

- the present location of the MS remains unclear (=presumably Manuscript Group 3)].<sup>535</sup>
- 10 London, BL, MS Add. 25857, fols 2v-181v, dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; the MS used to be part of the private collection of the Methodist theologian Adam Clarke (1762-1832); it was purchased by the British Museum from the estate of the orientalist William Cureton (1808-1864) on 6 August 1864 (see fol. 182v); later it became part of the collection of the newly formed British Library (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>536</sup>
- 11 Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 3824, 200 fols (own foliation), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; the copy was completed during °Alavī's lifetime, as suggested by the invocation "May his prosperity continue" (Arab. *minhu dāma zilluhu*), following the glosses of the author (see fols 1v; 2r); on fol. 200r, we read an ownership statement by °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī Akbar al-Iṣfahānī, dated to Rajab 1285 AH (=October-November 1868), as well as his reading note, dated 7 Jumādā I 1310 (=27 November 1892); with an ownership statement by Muḥammad Taqī (...) on the front page (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>537</sup>
- 12 Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 10081, 190 fols (own foliation; defective at the beginning and end, as well as between 29v and 30r; blank: 45r-46v), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; with the seal impression of Mullā Muḥammad Ja°far Ṭihriānī (see fols 1r; 190v); the MS was

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<sup>535</sup> I thank Sohrab Yeke Zare for this information. For a description of the manuscript that used to be preserved in the private collection of Naṣīrī, see °Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, 102-103. For a facsim. of the folios with glosses in °Alavī's hand, as well as the first and the last folio of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, 105-108.

<sup>536</sup> I thank Ursula Sims-Williams for the information on the history of the manuscript collection of the British Library. For descriptions of London, BL, MS Add. 25857, see Adam Clarke, *A Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of the European and Asiatic Manuscripts in the Library of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke*, London: Murray, 1835, 211, no. 283; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts*, 1:28-29.

<sup>537</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 12:2802-2804.

- endowed to the Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānishgāh in Tehran by Nāṣir Kātūziyān (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>538</sup>
- 13 Tehran, Majlis, MS 3722, 120 fols (paginated), dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī, copied by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khātūnābādī (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>539</sup>
- 14 Tehran, Malik, MS 1691, 182 fols (own foliation); the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-159; 175-180; 160-174; 182; 181 (defective between 174 and 182, as well as at the end); dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; with the seal impression of a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn (see fols 9v; 49v; 100v; 151v); on fols 1r and 181v, we read a seal impression showing a ligature of the letters “H” and “M” (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>540</sup>
- 15 Tehran, Majlis, MS 715, 162 fols, dedicated to Shāh Ṣafī; with an unidentified seal impression, dated 1056 AH (=1646-47) (see fols 36v; 52r; 58r; 68v), as well as the seal impressions of Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1086 (=1675-76), and Muḥammad Rizā al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, dated 1221 (=1806-07), on the front page (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>541</sup>
- 16 Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 1592/1, fols 1-35 (blank: 15), copied by an inexperienced European hand, presumably during the first half of the seventeenth century (=Manuscript Group 1).<sup>542</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 19:48-49.

<sup>539</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Iʿtiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 10/4:1701-1702.

<sup>540</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Afshār and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, 4:755.

<sup>541</sup> A microfilm of Tehran, Majlis, MS 715 is available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 4654 F. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Iʿtiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 1:58, no. 194, 2:453-454; Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mikrūfilmhā*, 3:84.

<sup>542</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Blochet, *Catalogue*, 4:167, no. 2209.

- 17 Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 11, 23 fols (unfinished; comprises the prologue and the beginning of the first chapter), directly copied from MS Suppl. persan 1592/1 by Dāʿūd ibn Saʿīd Iṣfahānī (1612-84), probably in Paris in the early 1640s CE (=Manuscript Group 1).<sup>543</sup>
- 18 San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555, 211 fols (partly own corrected foliation; blank: 204r; 205v; 208; 209r; 210v; 211; 212r), directly copied from BAV, MS Borg. pers. 5, including ʿAlavī’s note (see fol. 213), by Dominicus Germanus de Silesia; with the beginning of a Latin interlinear translation; on fol. 0-1, we read the *ex-libris* of the Franciscan language school of San Pietro in Montorio, dated 1645 CE: “Ex collegio Linguarum S. Petri montis aurei in Urbe, cum licentia Sup[er]iorum generalium 1645” (=Manuscript Group 2/1).<sup>544</sup>
- 19 Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 12, 237 fols; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-50; 88-96; 63-68; 97; 55-62; 85; 98-103; 86-87; 104; 69-72; 105; 51-52; 73-78; 84; 54; 189-228; 79-83; 53; 106-188; 229-237; with several annotations in Latin, Persian, and Hebrew by different European hands, among them the Jesuit Aimé Chézaud (1604-64) (=Manuscript Group 2/2).<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Blochet, *Catalogue*, 1:34, no. 53; Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:48-49.

<sup>544</sup> Photographs of San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555 are available in the Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā Marʿashī in Qum. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Dérenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, 3:135; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥāʾirī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi ʿaksī-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Ḥaẓrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿuzmā Marʿashī Najafī*, vol. 1-, Qum: Kitābkhāna, 1411-/1369-/1990-, 2:264-265, no. 787. For the scribe of the copy, see Richard, “Le Franciscain,” esp. 92, n. 2. For Giacomo Francesco Lova’s letter inserted in San Lorenzo, Escorial, MS Árabe 1555, fols 206-207, see above.

<sup>545</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Blochet, *Catalogue*, 1:33-34, no. 52 (the indicated shelfmark no. Suppl. 11 at the very end needs to be corrected to no. Suppl. 12); Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:50-51. See also Richard, “Le Père Aimé Chézaud,” 11, 15.

- 20 Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257 [Hekmat 257], 89 fols (partly own corrected foliation); the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-85; 87; 89; 86r (the following folios are part of Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, which comprises the Persian recension of Ṣahīr al-Dīn Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*, dating from the reign of Shāh Sulaymān [r. 1077/1666-1105/1694]: 86v; 88); since the MS was copied by the same hand as Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, it can be established that both manuscripts were written after 1666 CE<sup>546</sup>; on the front page, we read an ownership statement by Mīrzā Ḥasan<sup>c</sup>alī Navāsā<sup>ʔ</sup>ī as well as a bequest statement, dated to Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 1262 AH (=July-August 1846), by Tāj Māh Bēgum (d. 1282/1865) (=Manuscript Group 2/3).<sup>547</sup>
- 21 Paris, BNF, MS Suppl. persan 13/2, fols 263v-264v (unfinished; comprises the prologue and the beginning of the first chapter), presumably directly copied from MS

<sup>546</sup> Abdul-Hadi Hairī's proposition that Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257 "was copied during the reign of Shah <sup>c</sup>Abbas I" (see his "Reflections on the Shi<sup>c</sup>i Responses," 156-157) is thus not justified.

<sup>547</sup> For Tāj Māh Bēgum and her endowments, see Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000, 122-135.

Seal impressions of the Āstān-i Quds ("Sarkār-i fayḏ-āṣār"), dated 1276 (=1859-60), indicate that Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257 and MS 258 were relocated inside the sanctuary (see Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257, fols 1v; 65r; Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, fol. 166r). The miscellany was submitted for registration on 21 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1266 (=28 October 1850), in 1270 (=1853-54), on 19 Ramaḏān 1272 (=24 May 1856), in Shawwāl 1287 (=December 1870-January 1871), on 5 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 1289 (=12 June 1872), 16(?) Shawwāl 1292 (=15 November 1875), 7 Rajab 1297 (=15 June 1880), and 7 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 1316(?) (=26 July 1898). The <sup>c</sup>arḏ notes are accompanied by the seal impressions of Muḥammad Isma<sup>c</sup>īl, Faḏl Allāh, dated 1247 (=1831-32), Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Faḏl Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1246 (=1830-31), Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1270 (=1853-54), Ḥājjib al-<sup>c</sup>ataba al-<sup>c</sup>aliyya Sulṭān Muḥammad, dated 1289 (=1872-73), Sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-Anṣārī, dated 1261(?) (=1845-46), and Muḥammad (...) <sup>c</sup>Abd (...) Mu<sup>3</sup>min (...) Niḏām (showing a lion holding a raised sword in one paw against a rising sun). See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257, fols 1; 2; Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, fols 164v; 165v; 166r.

For descriptions of Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257, see Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī*, 1:205; Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā<sup>ʔ</sup>ī*, 526; Shānachi et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 2:1014. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257 is erroneously listed under the shelfmark no. 208 in DINĀ, 9:692.

- Suppl. persan 12; the MS is part of a miscellany completed in Isfahan on 9 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 1155 AH (=14 May 1742) (=Manuscript Group 2/2).<sup>548</sup>
- 22 Tehran, Majlis, MS 17381/3, fols 142v-177v (own foliation; defective at the beginning), completed between 1 and 10 Muḥarram (Pers. *daha-yi ʿĀshūrā*) 1231 AH (=between 3 and 12 December 1815) (=Manuscript Group 2/3).<sup>549</sup>
- 23 Qum, Madrasa-yi Fayziyya, MS 1393/1, pp. 2-247 (no foliation), with a note dated to Muḥarram 1257 AH (=February-March 1841) on the front page; on the last folio of the miscellany, we read an ownership statement by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Afrāsiyāb al-Afrāsiyābī; the MS was endowed to the Madrasa-yi Fayziyya in Qum by Muḥammad Bāqir Kashfiyān Burūjirdī on 29 Šafar 1391 AH (=26 April 1971) (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>550</sup>
- 24 Qum, Marʿashī, MS 8924/5, fols 90r-118r (own foliation; defective at the beginning), directly copied, at the request of Asadullāh Khān ibn Najafqulī Khān Īravānī, from Majlis, MS 17381/3 by Aḥmad ibn Fatāḥ Īravānī Qazvīnī in Jumādā II 1267 (=April-May 1851) (=Manuscript Group 2/3).<sup>551</sup>
- 25 Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 1310, 121 fols; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 3-8; 10; 9; 11-112; 114; 113; 115-121 (defective at the beginning; blank: 118v-120r); dedicated to Shāh Šafī, completed on 16 Shaʿbān 1286 AH (=21 November 1869); on fol. 121v, the Qajar prince-governor Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamad al-Dawla (1818-88) is mentioned; the MS was in the possession of the Qajar minister ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā in

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<sup>548</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Bibliothèque Nationale [de France], *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, 2/1:51-52.

<sup>549</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Iʿtišāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 48:95.

<sup>550</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Ustādī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Fayziyya*, 3:88.

<sup>551</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna*, 23:101.



Şafar 1287 (=May-June 1870), before it was endowed to the Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār  
(today: Muṭahharī) in Tehran in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1297 (=November-December 1880)  
(see fol. 2r) (=Manuscript Group 3).<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Dānīshpazhūh and Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār*, 5:586-587.

### 3 Inventory of Manuscripts of Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*

*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* is extant in different Arabic and Persian recensions by the author. The hitherto known seven manuscripts, two of which are in Arabic and five in Persian, are held by libraries in Iran and Russia. Although it cannot be excluded that revisions were made after Tafrishī's lifetime, the manuscript evidence suggests the following scenario: The author composed the first version of his treatise in Arabic ca. 1074 AH (=1663-64) (see Manuscript Group 1/1). During the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1077/1666-1105/1694), he expanded and rearranged the Arabic text (see Manuscript Group 1/2) and translated it into Persian (see Manuscript Group 2/1). He later revised the Persian recension and rearranged sections, such as the prologues following the author's report on his interreligious encounters (see Manuscript Group 2/2). For this reason, the structure and content of *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* varies between the manuscripts, even within the group of Arabic or Persian manuscripts.

While the Arabic recension still awaits publication, the Persian version of the work has recently been edited by Gūdarz Rashtiyānī on the basis of the earliest dated Persian manuscript Tehran, Majlis, MS 10147/19, pp. 371-433 (no foliation), completed in 1104 AH (=1692-93).<sup>553</sup> In addition, the text has been collated with two later Persian copies, namely Tehran, Majlis, MS 10598 and Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258 [Hekmat 258].<sup>554</sup> As far as the manuscripts are dated, they are listed here in chronological order:<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> See Rashtiyānī, "*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*," 1242.

<sup>554</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>555</sup> For reference works listing several of the below-mentioned manuscripts, see Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, 2:947, no. 8765; Mu'jam, 5:386-387, no. 12134; DINĀ, 10:711.

- 1 Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 1v-16r (presumably unfinished; comprises the prologue [*muqaddima*], the first chapter – structured in three prologues [*muqaddima*], and the beginning of the second chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*]), Arabic, no title indicated; the MS is included in a miscellany that was copied in 1074 AH (=1663-64) (=Manuscript Group 1/1).<sup>556</sup>
- 2 Tehran, Majlis, MS 10147/19, pp. 371-433 (no foliation; comprises a preface [*dībācha*], a report on three interreligious encounters [*majlis*], three prologues [*muqaddima*], the first chapter – structured in five prologues [*muqaddima*], and the second chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*], followed by different sections [*faṣl*], an epilogue [*khātima*], and more sections [*faṣl*]), Persian, completed in 1104 AH (=1692-93) (=Manuscript Group 2/1).<sup>557</sup>
- 3 Tehran, Dānishgāh, MS 3282/2, pp. 73-128 (no foliation; comprises three prologues [*muqaddima*], the first chapter – structured in three prologues [*muqaddima*], and the second chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*]), Arabic, dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān, copied by Żiyā<sup>3</sup> al-Dīn Ḥusaynī; the MS is included in a miscellany that contains a copy of Tafrishī's *Maṭāli' va-maghārib*, which was completed on 20 Muḥarram 1114 AH (=16 June 1702); in the margin of pp. 73-88, we read a copy of Mīrzā Abū l-Qāsim Gīlānī Qummī's (d. 1231/1816) refutation of Sufism (=Manuscript Group 1/2).<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Dorn and Rost, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 232-233. For its history of transmission, see Richard, "Catholicisme et Islam chiite," 362, n. 70.

<sup>557</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see I'tišāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 32:182. For facts of the beginning and end of Tehran, Majlis, MS 10147/19, see Rashtiyānī, "Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq," 1378-1379.

<sup>558</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 11:2248-2249.

- 4 Tehran, Majlis, MS 1232, 94 fols (own foliation; comprises a preface [*dībācha*], a report on three interreligious encounters [*majlis*], three prologues [*muqaddima*], the first chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*] – structured in five prologues [*muqaddima*], article two with different sections [*faṣl*], an epilogue [*khātima*], and more sections [*faṣl*]), Persian, dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān; the name of Shāhnāzar Khān has been erased in the preface (fol. 4r:9) (=Manuscript Group 2/2).
- 5 Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258 [Hekmat 258], fols 86v-166r (own foliation; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 86v; 88; 90r-166r; the following folios are part of Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 257: 87; 89; the MS comprises a preface [*dībācha*], a report on three interreligious encounters [*majlis*], three prologues [*muqaddima*], the first chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*] – structured in five prologues [*muqaddima*], article two with different sections [*faṣl*], an epilogue [*khātima*], and more sections [*faṣl*]), Persian; when Francis Richard studied the MS in 1981, he had no access to the entire codex and erroneously assumed the MS to be incomplete; in contrast to the recent claim by Rashtiyānī, the MS is undated (=Manuscript Group 2/2).<sup>559</sup>
- 6 Tehran, Majlis, MS 10598, 68 fols (own foliation; comprises a preface [*dībācha*], a report on three interreligious encounters [*majlis*], three prologues [*muqaddima*], the first chapter [*faṣl*] of article one [*maqāla*] – structured in five prologues [*muqaddima*], article two with different sections [*faṣl*], an epilogue [*khātima*], and more sections

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<sup>559</sup> For Richard’s assumption, see his “Trois conférences,” 253-254, 258 (the author refers to the manuscript as “Hekmat 257”). Rashtiyānī apparently misinterpreted the ‘*arż*’ note on the last folio of Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258, dated to Shawwāl 1292 (=November 1875), which is penned by a hand that is different from the one of the copyist, as date of the copy. See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1242.

For descriptions of this manuscript, see Dhariḥa, 10:232, no. 718; Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khattī*, 1:205-206; Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʿī*, 526.

[*faṣl*]), Persian, completed on 11 Jumādā I 1299 AH (=31 March 1882) by Muḥammad Mahdī ibn Sayyid Ṭālib °Alī near Jaunpur, India; the title is erroneously indicated as *Tabṣīrat al-ḥaqq* (“Instruction of Truth”); the MS was copied at the request of Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir Iṣfahānī Karbalā’ī; Rashtiyānī has suggested that the MS was directly copied from Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 258 or that both MSS were copied from the same textual *Vorlage* (=Manuscript Group 2/2).<sup>560</sup>

- 7 Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 7494/5, fols 25v-28v (own foliation; comprises the preface of the work), Persian (=Manuscript Group 2).<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see I’tisāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis*, 33/1:123-124. For Rashtiyānī’s assumption, see his “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” 1242.

<sup>561</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Abū l-Qāsim Naqībī, *Taṣḥīḥ va takmīl-i fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi °Ālī Shahīd Muṭahharī (Sipahsālār-i sābiq)*, Tih-rān: Madrasa-yi °Ālī Shahīd Muṭahharī, 1388/[2009-10], 136, no. 772.

## 4 Inventory of Manuscripts of Khātūnābādī's Persian Translation of the Gospels

Khātūnābādī's Persian translation of the Gospels is extant in seven manuscripts, which contain the same version of the text. As far as the copies are dated, they are listed here in chronological order.<sup>562</sup> The assumed earliest known manuscript was not accessible to me and is indicated in square brackets:

- [1 Isfahan, a private collection of the late M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark; with the introduction, the marginal glosses, and the epilogue by the translator.]<sup>563</sup>
- 2 Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ashī, MS 3364, 153 fols (own revised foliation), dedicated to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105/1694-1135/1722, d. 1140/1727); with the introduction, the marginal glosses, and the epilogue by the translator; the *terminus ante quem* for the copy is suggested by a note, dated to Muḥarram 1115 AH (=May-June 1703), in which it is indicated that Khātūnābādī presented the MS to his nephew, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Mīr °Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī (fol. 3r); with a bequest statement by Parī-Jahān Bīgum bint Marḥamat Panāh Mihr-°Alī Khān, dated to Jumāda I 1156 AH (=June-July 1743) (fol. 2r); the Coptic chapter divisions are indicated in the running text with

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<sup>562</sup> For reference works listing some manuscripts of Khātūnābādī's translation of the Gospels are DINĀ, 2:173-174; FANKHĀ, 4:935.

<sup>563</sup> For a facsim. of the folio with the opening of Matthew, see Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājīl-i arba<sup>c</sup>a: Tarjama, ta<sup>c</sup>liqāt va tauzīhāt*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. R. Ja<sup>c</sup>fariyān, Tih-rān: Nuqṭa, 1375/[1996], 62 (the facsim. is not included in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition). To my knowledge, the manuscript previously held by Rawzātī has not been catalogued or described elsewhere.

101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>564</sup>

- 3 Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 [1945] (°aksī), 374 pp. (no foliation), dedicated to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn; with the introduction, the marginal glosses, and the epilogue by the translator; the copy was completed during the lifetime of the translator, as suggested by the expression “May God protect him” (Arab. *minhu sallamahu llāh*) at the end of Khātūnābādī’s glosses in the margins; the Coptic chapter divisions are indicated in the running text with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>565</sup>
- 4 London, BL, MS India Office 2475, 171 fols (defective between 1v and 2r), completed in Rasht on 13 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1158 AH (=6 January 1746) by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Qazvīnī; the introduction, the marginal glosses, and the epilogue by the translator are lacking; the Coptic chapter divisions are indicated in the margins with 100 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 48 chapters for John.<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> In Qum, Mar<sup>o</sup>ashī, MS 3364, we also read three seal impressions, bearing the names Sayyid Muḥammad Ja<sup>o</sup>far al-Ḥusaynī, dated 1173(?) AH (=1759-60), Muḥammad Bāqir Yazdī (both fol. 2r), and Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī (fol. 3r), Khātūnābādī’s nephew.

For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna*, 9:138-139; DINĀ, 2:174, no. 33544; FANKHĀ, 4:935. For a facsim. of fol. 3v (detail), see M. B. Khātūnābādī, *Tarjama-yi Anājil-i arba<sup>o</sup>a*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 61 (the facsim. is not included in the second edition).

<sup>565</sup> Digital scans of Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī, 81 (°aksī) are available in the digital library of Majma<sup>o</sup>-i Zakhā<sup>2</sup>ir-i Islāmī in Qum. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Ishkavarī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 1:118-119; Ja<sup>o</sup>far Ḥ. Ishkavarī and Šādiq Ḥ. Ishkavarī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi °aksī-i Markaz-i Iḥyā<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrās-i Islāmī*, vol. 1-, Qum: Majma<sup>o</sup>-i Zakhā<sup>2</sup>ir-i Islāmī, 1377-/1419-/ [1998-99-], 5:408; DINĀ, 2:173-174, nos 33542, 33545; FANKHĀ, 4:935.

<sup>566</sup> Photographs from a microfilm of London, BL, MS India Office 2475 are available in Tehran, Dānishgāh, 6363 (°aksī), 2 vols. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. 1, Oxford: Printed for the India Office by H. Hart, 1903, 1474, no. 2714 (the date of the manuscript is erroneously indicated as “A. H. 1168”).

- 5 Tehran, Muṭahharī, MS 2191, 174 fols, dedicated to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, completed in “127,” perhaps 1207 AH (=1792-93); with the introduction and the epilogue by the translator; however, most of the marginal glosses are lacking; with notes on the title-page, dated to Jumāda II 1279 AH (=November-December 1862) and 15 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1297 AH (=18 November 1880), as well as a seal impression of “iṭizād al-salṭana,” dated 1279(?) AH (=1862-63); the manuscript was in the possession of the Qajar minister ʿAlī Qulī Mīrzā, before it was endowed to the Madrasa library (previously called Nāṣirī); no chapter divisions are indicated in the text.<sup>567</sup>
- 6 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Elliott 13, 181 fols, copied before 1227 AH (=1812), as suggested by a dated note of Sir Gore Ouseley (1770-1844), to whom the manuscript was presented in Tehran by the grand vizier Mīrzā Shafīʿ Māzandarānī (d. 1234/1819); with the marginal glosses by the translator; however, the introduction and the epilogue are lacking; the Coptic chapter divisions are indicated in the running text with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>568</sup>
- 7 Rome, BAV, MS Pers. 52/3, fols 41v-50v, inaccurate copy with many lacunae that comprehends the beginning of the Gospel of Mark; the introduction, the marginal glosses, and the epilogue by the translator are lacking; no chapter divisions are indicated in the text.<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>567</sup> For descriptions of this manuscript, see Dānishpazhūh and Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār*, 3:197; DINĀ, 2:174, no. 33543; FANKHĀ, 4:935.

<sup>568</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian (...) Manuscripts*, 1:1055-1056, no. 1840.

<sup>569</sup> For a description of this manuscript, see Rossi, *Elenco*, 79-80.



## 5 °Alavī's Citations from the Roman Arabic Vulgate in an Unidentified Persian Translation

The fifty-seven citations from the four Gospels in Arabic translation are as found in the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and quoted in a hitherto unidentified Persian translation in °Alavī's *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṡ</sup>* according to the author's earliest and his revised recension of the two works.<sup>570</sup> Almost all of the adduced passages are structured according to the Coptic Chapters with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>571</sup>

Interpolations within citations as well as orthographical peculiarities of the Persian manuscripts (e.g. گناهان instead of گناهان, بجانب instead of جنب, به خورد instead of خورد) and the Arabic printed edition (e.g. الى instead of إلى, ممتلى instead of ممتلى, يومن instead of يؤمن) have been retained. Gospel verses written in °Alavī's hand in the margins of Isfahan, M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, which contains a revised recension of *Lavāmi<sup>c</sup>-i rabbānī*, as well as the earliest known manuscript of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā<sup>ṡ</sup>*, Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, are indicated in **bold type** in the following table:

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<sup>570</sup> The table below is restricted to authentic quotations from the Gospels, which contain at least one verse. Paraphrases or passages that could not be identified are not included.

<sup>571</sup> For details, see above, Chapter 1.2.

Gospel verse	°Alavī's <i>Miṣqal-i šafā</i> <sup>o</sup>		°Alavī's <i>Lavāmi</i> <sup>c</sup> - <i>i rabbānī</i>		The Roman Arabic Vulgate
	The revised recension of the author (Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940) <sup>572</sup>	The earliest recension of the author (Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614) <sup>573</sup>	The revised recension of the author (Isfahan, M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark) <sup>574</sup>	The earliest recension of the author (Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83) <sup>575</sup>	Medici edition <sup>576</sup>
Matt. 1:1b-17 (Coptic chap. 1)	{يسوع مسيح ابن داود بن ابراهيم والد اسحق يعقوب والد يهوذا و بالجملة من ابراهيم بوجود آمد اسحق و از اسحق يعقوب و از اسحق يعقوب و از يهوذا بوجود آمد و از يهوذا	{يسوع مسيح ابن داود بن ابراهيم والد اسحق يعقوب والد يهوذا و بالجملة من ابراهيم بوجود آمد اسحق يعقوب و از اسحق يعقوب و از يهوذا بوجود آمد و از يهوذا			{يسوع المسيح ابن داود بن ابراهيم فابراهيم ولد اسحق واسحق ولد يعقوب ويعقوب ولد يهودا واخوته ويهودا ولد فارص وزارح من ثامر وفارص ولد حصرون

<sup>572</sup> See Tehran, Majlis, MS 4940, fols 8r:7-9; 43v:3-8; 43v:10-44r:1; 47v:8-48r:4; 75r:8-75v:1; 76r:4-6; 76r:9-76v:2; 76v:8-10; 109r:3-10; 109v:8-110r:1; 111r:2-6; 111v:8-112r:3; 112r:4-8; 114r:6-9; 132v:1-3; 133v:1-9; 136r:6-136v:1; 137r:9-10; 139v:6-140r:4; 156v:4-8; 159r:8-160v:2; 164v:2-165r:1; 175r:8-175v:2; 175v:5-176v:5; 176v:6-177r:4; 177r:9-177v:4; 178r:1-3; 180r:3-181v:5; 181v:7-182r:8; 182r:10-182v:2; 183r:3-6; 185v:3-186r:10; 188r:4-188v:1; 191r:3-7; 192r:2-9; 196r:9; 196v:2-3.

<sup>573</sup> See Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 34614, fols 3r:6-7; 12v:15-17; 13r:2; 14r:8-11; 22r (margins); 30v:5-9, 13-14; 31r:8-10; 31r:16-31v:4; 36v:9-10; 37r:4-8, 11-12, margins; 37v:10-15; 41v:3-6; 42r:3-16; 43v:5-11; 46r:17-46v:3; 46v (margins); 46v:7-8; 47r (margins); 47r:9-11; 48r (margins); 48r:5-7; 48r:15-48v:2; 49r (margins).

<sup>574</sup> See Isfahan, M. °A. Rawzātī, MS without shelfmark, fols 2v:10-3r:2, 8-12; 3v:7-4r:2; 5r:5-5v:8; 6r:3-6; 7r:12-7v:2; 18r (margins); 20r:9-21v:3; 23r:5-9; 23r:12-24r:5; 24r:9-24v:5, 7-8; 48r:13-48v:11; 52r:9-11; 55v:1-6, margins; 58r (margins); 58v:1-6; 59r:2-59v:2, 7-11; 60r:2-11; 61v:8-12; 62r:2; 62r:10-62v:2, 4-10; 63r:4-8; 63v:2-6; 64r:4-8; 64v:1-3, 5-9; 70r:8-71r:1; 73r:3-6; 73v:4-10, margins; 74 r (margins); 74r:9-74v:1; 75r:5-8; 75v (margins); 105r (margins).

<sup>575</sup> See Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.6.83, fols 4v:11-5r:6; 5v:2-8; 6r:8-6v:6; 9r:4-10r:2; 10r:11-10v:4; 13r:2-4; 36v:4-9; 39r:1-9; 39r:10-40r:11; 40v:1-9; 43r:6-11; 43v:5-44v:4; 44v:8-45r:8; 45r:10-11; 84r:9-84v:8; 84v:10-85r:2; 89v:9-11; 94v:10-95r:5; 95r:11-95v:2; 99r:10-100r:2; 101r:4-10; 102r:2-8; 102v:9-103r:1; 103r:2-103v:3; 103v:10-104r:3; 104r:10-104v:10; 107r:1-7, 10-11; 107v:11-108r:7; 108r:9-108v:6; 109r:5-11; 109v:8-110r:3, 7-9; 110v:6-111r:2, 9-11; 111v:4-9; 120v:10-121r:8; 121r:10-121v:4; 121v:6-122r:3; 125r:7-11; 126r:11-126v:4; 127r:7-8; 127r:10-127v:2; 128r:11-128v:5; 128v:11-129r:5; 130r:6-10; 130v:11-131r:3; 181r:3-181v:4.

<sup>576</sup> See *al-Injil al-muqaddas*, pp. 2:3-3:16; 12:3-6; 15:7-16:4; 25:1-5; 31:11-32:6; 33:10-11; 42:9-11; 47:5-7; 52:1-7; 57:7-58:2, 4-6, 10-15; 59:8-60:8; 64:9-13; 74:9-75:5; 87:6, 8-9; 93:10-13; 94:3-9; 97:7-10; 99:9-100:8; 119:7-9; 142:15-143:6; 145:1-4; 148:19-149:7, 9-10; 161:5-8; 171:2-11; 178:6-8; 179:1-2; 195:3-11; 206:4-207:1; 239:16-18; 290:4-6; 291:2-8; 293:9, 15-19; 305:17-307:3; 307:11-14; 308:13, 16-19; 317:4-5; 319:15-320:8; 320:10-321:8; 344:14-17; 345:1-5, 9-10, 16-17; 346:1-2; 348:7-9; 348:16-349:1; 351:1-2; 354:17-355:3.

فارض و زارح از ثامار و از	فارض و زارح از ثامار و از	و حصرون ولد ارام و ارام
فارض بوجود آمد حصرون	فارض بوجود آمد حصرون	ولد عمیناداب
و از ثامار و از فارض بوجود	و از ثامار و از فارض بوجود	و عمیناداب ولد نصون
آمد حصرون و از	آمد حصرون و از ارام	و نصون ولد سلمون
حصرون آرام و از ارام	عمیناداب و از عمیناداب	و سلمون ولد باعاز من
عمیناداب و از عمیناداب	نصون و از نصون سلمون	راحاب و باعاز ولد عوبید
نصون و از نصون سلمون	نصون و از نصون سلمون	من راعوث و عوبید ولد
راحاب و از باعاز عوبید از	راحاب و از باعاز عوبید از	ایسی و ایسی ولد داود
راحاب و از باعاز عوبید از	راعوث و از عوبید ایسی و	الملك و داود الملك ولد
راعوث و از عوبید ایسی	از ایسی داود الملك و از	سلیمن من التي كانت
داود الملك سلیمان و از	داود الملك سلیمان و از	لاوریا و سلیمان ولد
سلیمان راحیعام [کذا] و	سلیمان راحیعام [کذا] و	راحیعام و راحیعام [کذا]
از سلیمان راحیعام [کذا]	از راحیعام اییا و از اییا	ولد اییا و اییا ولد اصاف
و از راحیعام اییا از اییا	اصاف و از اصاف	و اصاف ولد یوشافاط
اصاف و از اصاف	یوشافاط [کذا] و از	و یوشافاط ولد یورام و یورام
یوشافاط [کذا] و از	یوشافاط یورام و از یورام	ولد عوزیا و عوزیا ولد
غوریا و از غوریا یوئام و از	غوریا و از غوریا یوئام و از	یوئام و یوئام ولد احاز
غوریا و از غوریا یوئام و	یوئام احاز و از احاز حزقیآ	و احاز ولد حزقیآ و حزقیآ
از یوئام احاز و از احاز	و از حزقیآ منشی و از	ولد منشی و منشی ولد
حزقیآ و از حزقیآ منشی	منشی عامون و از عامون	عامون و عامون ولد یوشیا
[و از منشی] عامون و از	یوشیا و از یوشیا یوخانیا	و یوشیا ولد یوخانیا
عامون یوشیا و از یوشیا	[کذا] و اخوته از جلاء	و اخوته فی جلاء بابل
یوخانیا و اخوته از جلا	بابل و بعد از جلاء بابل	ومن بعد جلاء بابل
بابل و بعد از جلا بابل	یوخانیا و از شلتائیل و از	یوخانیا ولد شلتائیل
از یوخانیا شلتائیل [و از	شلتائیل زوربابل و از	و شلتائیل ولد زوربابل
شلتائیل] زوربابل و از	زوربابل اییود و از اییود	و زوربابل ولد اییود و اییود
زوربابل اییود و از اییود	یاقیم و از یاقیم عازور و از	ولد الیاقیم و الیاقیم ولد
یاقیم و از یاقیم عازور و	عازور صادق و از صادق	عازور و عازور ولد
از عازور صادق و از	اخین و از اخین الیود و از	صادوق و صادق ولد
الیود و از اخین و از اخین	الیود الیعادر [کذا] و ازو	اخین و اخین ولد الیود
الیود و از الیود الیعادر	مثنان و از مثنان یعقوب و	و الیود ولد الیعازر و الیعازر
[کذا] و ازو مثنان و از	از یعقوب یوسف خطیب	ولد مثنان و مثنان ولد
مثنان یعقوب و از یعقوب	مریم که ازو بوجود آمد	یعقوب و یعقوب ولد
یوسف خطیب مریم که	یسوع که او را مسیح	یوسف خطیب مریم
ازو بوجود آمد یسوع که	میکفتند [...] پس از	المولود منها یسوع الذی
او را مسیح می گفتند	ابراهیم تا داود چهارده	یدعی المسیح فکل
[...] پس از ابراهیم تا	پدرست و از داود تا جلاء	الاجیال من ابراهیم الی
داود چهارده پدرست و از	بابل چهارده پدرست و از	داود اربعة عشر جیلا
داود تا جلاء بابل چهارده	جلاء بابل تا مسیح	

	ومن داود الی جلاء بابل اربعۃ عشر جیلا ومن جلاء بابل الی المسیح اربعۃ عشر جیلا}.	چهارده پدرست}.	پدرست و از جلاء بابل تا مسیح چهارده پدرست}.
Matt. 4:18b- 20 (Coptic chap. 8)	{ابصر [یسوع] اخوین سمعان الذي يدعى بطرس واندراوس اخاه یلقیان شبكة في البحر لانهما كانا صیادین فقال لهما اتبعاني فاجعلكما تكونان صیادي الناس ولوقت ترکا الشباك وتبعاه}.	{اول صحبت مسیح با شمعون بطرس و برادرش اندراوس [...] } در ان هنگام بود که ایشان شبکه‌های خود را در دریا می انداختند بواسطه شکار کردن چنان پس یسوع یعنی مسیح بایشان فرمود که اطاعت نمایند مرا تا آنکه انسانرا بجای حیتان صید نمایند پس شبکه‌های خود را ترک نموده متابعت مسیح کردند}.	{اول صحبت مسیح با شمعون بطرس و برادرش اندراوس [...] } در ان هنگام بود که ایشان شبکه‌های خود را در دریا می انداختند بواسطه شکار کردن چنان پس یسوع یعنی مسیح بایشان فرمود که اطاعت نمایند مرا تا آنکه انسانرا بجای حیتان صید نمایند پس ترک دامها و شبکه‌های خود کرده متابعت مسیح نموده‌اند}.
Matt. 5:29-30 (Coptic chap. 9)	{فان شككتك عينك اليمنى فاقطعها والقها عنك فانه خير لك ان يهلك احد اعضايك من ان يلقي جسدك كله في جهنم وان شككتك يدك اليمنى فاقطعها والقها عنك فانه خير لك ان يهلك احد اعضايك من ان يذهب جسدك كله في جهنم}.	{اكر چشم راست شما در شك اندازد شما را باید که بر کنید آتزا و ببندازید از جهت آنکه بهتر است شما را نداشتن یک عضو و هلاک بودن آن از انکه جسد شما در جهنم بوده باشد و اگر آنکه بشک اندازد شما را دست راست شما پس باید که جدا ساخته او را بیفکنید از جهت آنکه بهتر است شما را هلاک عضوی از بودن جمیع اعضای شما در جهنم}.	{اگر چشم راست شما در شکستن اندازد شما را باید که آنرا بر کنده و ببندازید از جهت آنکه شما را نداشتن یک عضو و هلاک بودن از آنکه جسد شما در جهنم بوده باشد و اگر بشک اندازد شما را دست راست شما شما را باید که آنرا جدا ساخته بیفکنید از جهت آنکه هلاک عضوی از شما بهتر خواهد بود ازینکه جمیع اعضای شما در جهنم بوده باشد}.
Matt. 5:31- 32a (Coptic chap. 9)	{وقيل ان من طلق امراته فليدفع لها كتاب طلاق وانا اقول لكم ان كل من طلق امراته من غير سبب الزناء فقد جعلها زانية}.	{گفته شده است روا بودن طلاق از جهت شما من که مسیحم میکویم شما را کسی که طلاق کوید زن خود را بی آنکه زنا ازو بظهور آمده باشد پس میکرداند آن شوهر زن خود را زناکار}.	{گفته شده است روا بودن طلاق از جهت شما من که مسیحم میکویم شما را کسی که طلاق کوید زن خود را بی آنکه زنا ازو بظهور آمده باشد پس میکرداند آن شوهر زن خود را زناکار}.
Matt. 5:33-36 (Coptic chap. 9)	{قد سمعتم ايضاً انه قيل للاولين لا تحنث في يمينك وأوف للرب قسمك وانا اقول لكم لا	{شما شنیده‌اید که گفته شده است امت اولین را که خلاف قسم خود نموده وفا بقسم خویشتن بخدای نمایید	{شما از امتان سابق شنیده‌اید که وفا بمقتضای قسم باید نمود که من که مسیحم حکم

تحلفوا البتة لا بالسماء لانها كرس الله ولا بالارض لانها موطي قدميه ولا يياروشليم لانها مدينة الملك العظيم ولا تحلف براسك لانك لا تقدر ان نصنع شعرة واحدة بيضاء او سودا.	من که مسيحم ميکويم که قسم خوردن بهيچ وجه روا نيست نه بحق آسمان زيرا که کرسی آلهست و نه بزمين زيرا که موطي قدم خداست و نه بشهري که ياروشليم است زيرا که شهر پادشاه بزرکست و باز قسم نبايد خوردن بسر خویش زيرا که قدرت بافريدن مویی نداريد سياه و سفيد و مانند اين.	من که مسيحم ميکويم که قسم خوردن بهيچ وجه روا نيست نه بحق آسمان زيرا که کرسی آلهست و نه بر زمين زيرا که موطي قدم خداست و نه بشهري که اروشليم است زيرا که شهر پادشاه بزرکيست و باز قسم نبايد خوردن بسر خويشتن زيرا که قدرت بافريدن مویی نداريد سياه و سفيد و مانند اين.	حکم مينمايم باينکه قسم خوردن بهيچ وجه روا نيست نه باسما و نه بزمين چرا که اول کرسی خداست و دويم قدمکاه اوست و نه بشهري که اروشليم است چرا که جايگاه پادشاهي بزرکست و نه بسر خویش چرا که قدرت بافريدن مویی از ان نداريد نه سياه و نه سفيد.	حکم مينمايم باينکه قسم خوردن بهيچ وجه روا نيست نه باسما و نه بزمين چرا که اول کرسی خداست و دويم قدمکاه اوست و نه بشهري که اروشليم است چرا که جايگاه پادشاهي بزرکست و نه بسر خویش چرا که قدرت بافريدن مویی از ان نداريد نه سياه و نه سفيد.
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{قد سمعتم انه قيل العين بدل العين والسنن بدل السنن وانا اقول لكم لا تقاوموا الشر لكن من لطمك على خدك الايمن فحوّل له الآخر}.	{شما شنیده‌اید که چشم را بجای چشم و دندان را بجای دندان قصاص باید نمود من که مسيحم شما را منع ازین حکم ميفرمايم و حکم می نمايم که متوجه اين مکرديد و شر را روا نداريد و اگر کسی طپانچه بر جانب راست روی شما زند بايد که جانب چپ را پيش آوريد تا آنکه طپانچه بر ان زده شود}.	{شما شنیده‌اید که چشم را بجای چشم و دندان را بجای دندان قصاص بايد نمود من که مسيحم شما را منع ازین می نمايم و حکم ميفرمايم که متوجه اين نکرديد و شر را روا نداريد و اگر کسی طپانچه بر جانب راست روی شما زند بايد که جانب چپ را پيش آوريد تا آنکه طپانچه بر ان زده شود}.	{شما شنیده‌اید قصاص چشم بجای چشم و دندان بجای دندان من که مسيحم شما را ازین حکم منع مينمايم و جزای عمل پدر را [کذا] روا نميدارم و اگر کسی طپانچه بر يکطرف روی شما زند بايد که طرف ديگر را پيش آوريد}.	{شما شنیده‌اید قصاص چشم بجای چشم و دندان بجای دندان من که مسيحم شما را ازین حکم منع مينمايم و جزای عمل بد را روا نميدارم و اگر کسی طپانچه بر يکطرف روی شما زند بايد که طرف ديگر را پيش آوريد}.
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{فلما صعد السفينة تبعه تلاميذه واذا اضطراب عظيم حدث في البحر حتى كادت الامواج تغطي السفينة وكان هو نايمًا فتقدم اليه تلاميذه وايقظوه وقالوا يا رب نحننا فقد هلكتنا فقال لهم يسوع لماذا خفتم يا قليل الايمان حينئذ قام وانتهر الرياح والبحر فصار هدوء عظيم}.	{مسيح چون صعود بر کشتی نموده شاگردان بایشان رسیدند و اضطراب عظیم در دریا حادث کردید تا آنکه نزدیک شد که موجهای دریا آن سفینه را غرق نماید و در ان وقت مسیح را خواب رفته بود شاگردان نزدیک او رفته بیدارش نموده گفتند که ای خدای ما را نجات ده از هلاک شدن پس يسوع یعنی مسیح فرمود ایشانرا که چرا ترسیده‌اید ای کم ایمانها پس	{مسيح چون صعود بر کشتی نموده شاگردان بایشان رسیدند و اضطراب عظیم در دریا حادث کردید تا آنکه نزدیک شد که موجهای دریا آن سفینه را غرق نماید و در ان وقت مسیح را خواب رفته بود شاگردان نزدیک او رفته بیدارش نموده گفتند که ای خدای ما را نجات ده از هلاک شدن پس يسوع یعنی مسیح فرمود ایشانرا که چرا	{مسيح چون صعود بر کشتی نموده شاگردان بایشان رسیدند و اضطراب عظیم در دریا حادث کردید تا آنکه نزدیک شد که موجهای دریا آن سفینه را غرق نماید و در ان وقت مسیح را خواب رفته بود شاگردان نزدیک او رفته بیدارش نموده گفتند که ای خدای ما را نجات ده از هلاک شدن پس يسوع یعنی مسیح فرمود ایشانرا که چرا
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		ترسیده‌اید ای کم ایمانها پس مسیح بر خواسته طوفانرا بر طرف کردانیده روایح نجات را بمشام پویندگان بادیه طلب رسانید}.	مسیح بر خواسته طوفان را بر طرف کردانیده روایح نجات را بمشام پویندگان بادیه طلب رسانید}.	
Matt. 10:1b- 4a (Coptic chap. 26)	{مسیح} ایشانرا سلطنت بر ارواح و شفا دادن از امراض و اوجاع است و اسامی این دوازده کس اینست شمعون مدعو بیطرس و اندراوس و برادر او یعقوب بن زیدی و یوحنا برادر او و فیلیس و برتولوماوس و ثوما و متاوس و خالی العشر [کذا] و یعقوب خالی العشر و ثوما و متاوس جایی العشر و یعقوب بن حلفی و لباوس مشهور بتداوس و سمعان القنانی و یهودای اسخریوطی}.	{مسیح} ایشانرا سلطنت بر ارواح و شفا دادن از کل امراض و اوجاع بود و اسامی این دوازده کس اینست شمعون المدعو بیطرس و اندراوس برادر او و یعقوب بن زیدی و یوحنا برادر او و فیلیس و برتولوماوس و ثوما و متاوس جالی العشر و یعقوب بن خالقی و لباوس مشهور بتداوس و سمعان القنانی و یهودا الأسخريوطي}.	{مسیح} ایشانرا سلطنت است بر ارواح و شفا دادن از کل امراض و اوجاع و اسامی این دوازده کس اینست شمعون المدعو ببطرس و اندراوس و برادر او [کذا] و یعقوب بن زیدی و یوحنا برادر او و فیلیس و برتولوماوس و ثوما و متاوس خالی العشر [کذا] و یعقوب خالقی [کذا] و لباوس مشهور بتداوس و سمعان القنانی و یهودای الاسخريوطي}.	{واعظاهم [یسوع] سلطاناً على الارواح التجسة لكي يخرجونها ويشفوا كل الامراض وكل الاوجاع وهذه اسماء الاثني عشر الرسل الاول شمعون المدعو بطرس واندراوس اخوه ويعقوب ابن زيدي ويوحنا اخوه فيليس وبرتولوماوس وثوما و متاوس جايي العشر ويعقوب ابن حلفي ولباوس الذي يدعي تداوس وسمعان القناني ويهوذا الإسخريوطي}.
Matt. 10:20 (Coptic chap. 27)	{روح پدر شما حرف میزند در شما باید که ساکت باشید}.	{روح پدر شما حرف میزند در شما باید که ساکت باشید}.	{روح پدر شما حرف میزند در شما و شما باید که ساکت بوده باشید}.	{لستم انتم المتكلمين لكن روح ابيكم الذي يتكلم فيكم}.
Matt. 12:40 (Coptic chap. 36)	{چنانچه یونس در شکم ماهی سه شبانه روز بوده است من نیز که پسر انسانم سه شبانه روز در شکم زمین خواهم بود}.	{چنانچه یونس در شکم ماهی شبانه روز بوده است من نیز که پسر انسانم سه شبانه روز در شکم زمین خواهم بود}.	{چنانچه یونس در شکم ماهی سه شبانه روز بوده است من نیز که پسر انسانم سه شبانه روز در شکم زمین خواهم بود}.	{یونان النبي كما كان في بطن الحوت ثلاثة انهر وثلاث ليال كذلك يكون ابن الانسان في قلب الارض ثلاثة انهر وثلاث ليال}.
Matt. 13:41- 42a (Coptic chap. 39)	{پسر انسان ملائکه خود را خواهد فرستاد تا جمع نمایند کناهان مردمان را و در آتش بسوزانند}.	{پسر انسان ملائکه خود را خواهد فرستاد تا جمع نمایند کناهان مردمان را و در آتش بسوزانند}.	{پسر انسان ملائکه خود را ارسال خواهد نمود تا آنکه جمع نمایند از مملکت او جمیع شکوک و کناهانرا تا آنکه ایشانرا در آتش اندازد}.	{یرسل ابن الانسان ملائکته ویجمعون من مملکته کل الشکوک وفاعلي الاثم فیلقونهم في اتون النار}.
Matt. 14:29b- 31 (Coptic chap.)	{بطرس بر روی آب مشی مینمود پس چون باد عاصف و زیدن کرفت ترسید و تندی آن باد بسر حدی رسید که بطرس غرق کردید پس خطاب کرد بمسیح	{بطرس بر روی آب مشی مینمود پس چون باد عاصف و زیدن گرفت ترسید و تندی آن باد بسر حدی رسید که بطرس غرق کردید پس خطاب کرد	{یرسل بطرس من السفينة ومشی على الماء جايئاً الى يسوع فرأى قوة الريح وخاف وكان يغرق فصاح قائلاً يا ربّ نجني وللوقت	

44)

مَدَّ يَسُوعُ يَدَهُ وَاخَذَهُ وَقَالَ  
 لَهُ يَا قَلِيلَ الْأَمَانَةِ لِمَ  
 شَكَكْتَ؟  
 بَمَسِيحٍ كَمَا أَنَّ خُدَايَ مِنْ  
 نَجَاتٍ دَهْ مَرَّةٍ مَسِيحٍ دَسْتِ  
 أَوْ رَا كَرَفْتَهُ نَجَاتِشْ دَادُ وَ  
 خُطَابُ كَرَدُ بَاوُ كَمَا أَنَّ خُدَايَ  
 الْإِمَانَةَ چَرَا شَكَّ نَمُودِي وَ رُئِبُ  
 بَجَايِ أَوْرُدِي؟  
 بَجَايِ أَوْرُدِي؟

Matt.  
14:33  
(Coptic  
chap.  
44)

{فَجَاءَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا فِي  
 السَّفِينَةِ وَسَجَدُوا لَهُ  
 قَائِلِينَ إِنَّتَ هُوَ بِالْحَقِيقَةِ  
 ابْنُ اللَّهِ} .  
 {آن جماعت که در سفینه  
 بودند سجده مسیح نموده  
 می‌گفتند که تو بالحق‌قیقه پسر  
 خدایی و مسیح ایشانرا از ان  
 گفتن منع نمی‌فرمود} .

Matt.  
16:13-  
14 or  
13-17,  
19  
(Coptic  
chap.  
50)

{وَلَمَّا جَاءَ يَسُوعُ إِلَى نَاحِيَةِ قَيْسَارِيَةِ فِيلِبُّسَ فَسَأَلَ تَلَامِيذَهُ مَاذَا تَقُولُ النَّاسُ فِي ابْنِ الْبَشَرِ فَقَالُوا قَوْمٌ يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ وَآخَرُونَ إِبِلْيَا وَآخَرُونَ أَرْمِيَا أَوْ وَاحِدٍ مِنَ الْإِنْبِيَاءِ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ فَأَنْتُمْ مَاذَا تَقُولُونَ مِنْ أَنَا أَجَابَ سَمْعَانَ بَطْرُسَ وَقَالَ إِنَّتَ هُوَ الْمَسِيحُ ابْنُ اللَّهِ الْحَيِّ أَجَابَ يَسُوعَ وَقَالَ لَهُ طُوبَى يَا سَمْعَانَ بْنَ يُونَا لَيْسَ جَسَدٌ وَلَا دَمٌ أَظْهَرَ لَكَ هَذَا لَكِنْ أَبِي الَّذِي فِي السَّمَوَاتِ [...] . وَإَعْطَيْتُكَ مَفَاتِيحَ مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا رِبْطَتُهُ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ يَكُونُ مَرْبُوطًا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا حَلَلْتَهُ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ يَكُونُ مَحْلُولًا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ} . {مَسِيحٍ سَوَّالٍ نَمُودٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .	{مَسِيحٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .	{مَسِيحٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .	{مَسِيحٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .	{مَسِيحٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .	{مَسِيحٍ أَسْ شَاكْرْدَانِشْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَرْدَمَانَ چَهْ مِيكُونِدُ دِرْبَارَةُ ابْنِ بَشَرٍ پس كَفْتَنْدُ كَرْوَهِي أَزْ مَرْدَمَانَ شَمَا رَا يُوَحِّتُونَ الْمَعْمَدَانَ مِيدَانْدُ وَ كَرْوَهِي إِبِلْيَا وَ كَرْوَهِي أَرْمِيَا يَكِي أَزْ إِنْبِيَا پَسْ مَسِيحِ فَرْمُودُ بَايْشَانِ كَمَا أَنَّ شَمَا چَهْ كَمَا دَارِيدُ بَمَنْ وَ مَرَا چَهْ كَسْ مِيدَانْدِي پَسْ شَمْعُونِ جَوَابُ دَادِهِ كَفْتُ كَمَا أَنَّ اعْتِقَادُ مِنْ أَنْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ تُو مَسِيحِ پَسِرِ خُدَايِي حَيِّ بُوْدَةُ يَاشِي پَسْ يَسُوعِ يَعْنِي مَسِيحِ جَوَابُ كَفْتُ أَوْ رَا كَمَا أَنَّ خُوشَا حَالُ تُو يَا شَمْعُونُ بَنِ نُونَا [كَذَا] نَيْسَتْ كَمَا أَنَّ مَسِيحِ بُوْدَةُ بَاشِدُ جَسَدٌ وَ خُونِي كَمَا أَنَّ ظَاهِرُ وَ هُوَيْدُ اسْتِ شَمَا رَا لَيْكِنْ پَدْرِ مِنْ دَرِ آسْمَانِهَاسْتِ وَ مِنْ تَرَا دَادِهِامُ مَفَاتِيحِ مَلَكُوتِ وَ مَقَالِيدِ آسْمَانِهَا رَا پَسِ أَنْجِطُ دَرِ زَمِينِ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدَانِي بَسْتَهُ بَسْتَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ وَ أَنْجِطُ كَشَايِي دَرِ زَمِينِ كَشَادَهُ كَرْدُدُ دَرِ آسْمَانِ} .
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Matt.  
16:19

{وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ مَفَاتِيحَ مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا	{بَدَسْتُ شَمَا دَادِهِامُ مَلَكُوتِ سَمَوَاتِ رَا	{بَدَسْتُ شَمَا دَادِهِامُ مَلَكُوتِ سَمَوَاتِ رَا	{بَدَسْتُ شَمَا دَادِهِامُ مَلَكُوتِ سَمَوَاتِ رَا	{بَدَسْتُ شَمَا دَادِهِامُ مَلَكُوتِ سَمَوَاتِ رَا	{وَأَعْطَيْتُكَ مَفَاتِيحَ مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا
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(Coptic chap. 50)	سماوات را پس آنچه حرام گردانیدی در زمین حرام کردد در آسمان و آنچه حلال گردانیدی در زمین حلال کردد در آسمان.	را پس آنچه حرام گردانیدی در زمین حرام کردد در آسمان و آنچه حلال گردانیدی در زمین حلال کردد در آسمان.	پس آنچهیزا که حرام سازید در زمین حرام کردد در آسمانها و آنچهیزا که حلال گردانید در زمین حلال کردد در آسمان.	چیزی را که حرام سازید در زمین حرام کردد در آسمانها و آن چیزی را که حلال گردانید در زمین حلال کردد در آسمانها.	ربطه علی الارض یکن مربوطاً فی السموات وما حللته علی الأرض یکن محلولاً فی السموات.
Matt. 16:21 (Coptic chap. 51)	{یسوع یعنی مسیح خبر مینمود شاکردانش را رفتن باروشلیم از جهة آنکه المهای بسیار از بزرگان کاهنان باو خواهد رسید تا که او را بقتل خواهند آورد و بعد از سه روز بر خواهد خواست}.	{یسوع یعنی مسیح خبر مینمود شاکردانش را رفتن باروشلیم از جهة آنکه المهای بسیار از بزرگان کاهنان باو خواهد رسید تا که او را بقتل خواهند آورد و بعد از سه روز بر خواهد خواست}.	{یسوع یعنی مسیح خبر می نمود شاکردان خود را بآنکه بروید باروشلیم چرا که بسیار از مشایخ و روساء کهنه و کتبه بمن خواهد رسید تا آنکه مرا خواهند کشت و بعد از سه روز بر خواهد خواست}.	{یسوع یعنی مسیح خبر مینمود شاکردان خود را بآنکه بروید باروشلیم چرا که بسیار از مشایخ و روسای کهنه و کتبه بمن خواهد رسید تا آنکه مرا خواهند کشت و بعد از سه روز بر خواهد خواست}.	{ویدا یسوع من ذلك اليوم یخبر تلامیذه انه ینبغی ان یمضی الی اورشلیم ویقتل الاما کثیرة من المشایخ وروسا الکهنه والکتبه ویقتلونه وبعد ثلثة ایام یقوم}.
Matt. 16:22-23 (Coptic chap. 51)	{مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شده بیالای آن رفتند پس مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیده بَشَنِّخ و مثال و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان و بعد از ان ابری پر صوت و صدا ایشانرا فرو گرفته میگفت مسیح را که این پسر	{مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا بر داشته متوجه کوهی شده بیالای آن رفتند پس مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیده بَشَنِّخ و مثال و تکلم می نمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان و بعد از ان ابری پر صوت و صدا ایشانرا فرو گرفته میگفت مسیح را که این پسر	{یسوع یعنی مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شدند و بیالای آن رفتند مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیدند بَشیح و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان پس بطرس خطاب بمسیح کرده میگفت که ای آله سزاوار است که ما در اینجا اگر خواسته باشی سه	{یسوع یعنی مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شدند و بیالای آن رفتند مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیدند بَشَنِّخ و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان پس بطرس خطاب بمسیح کرده میگفت که ای آله سزاوار است که ما در اینجا اگر خواسته باشی سه	{فاقبل بطرس ویدا یمنعه ویقول حاشاک یا رب ان یكون لك هذا فالتفت وقال لبطرس اذهب عني یا شیطان فقد صرت لی شکاً لانک ما تفکر فیما لله لکن فیما للناس}.
Matt. 17:1-3, 5b or 1-9 (Coptic chap. 53)	{مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شده بیالای آن رفتند پس مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیده بَشَنِّخ و مثال و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان و بعد از ان ابری پر صوت و صدا ایشانرا فرو گرفته میگفت مسیح را که این پسر	{مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا بر داشته متوجه کوهی شده بیالای آن رفتند پس مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیده بَشَنِّخ و مثال و تکلم می نمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان و بعد از ان ابری پر صوت و صدا ایشانرا فرو گرفته میگفت مسیح را که این پسر	{یسوع یعنی مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شدند و بیالای آن رفتند مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیدند بَشیح و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان پس بطرس خطاب بمسیح کرده میگفت که ای آله سزاوار است که ما در اینجا اگر خواسته باشی سه	{یسوع یعنی مسیح بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا را بر داشته متوجه کوهی شدند و بیالای آن رفتند مسیح جلوه کر کردیده بر ایشان روی در رنگ آفتاب و جامه مانند نور و درین هنگام نور موسی و ایلیا نیز جلوه کر کردیدند بَشَنِّخ و تکلم مینمودند بمسیح و مسیح با ایشان پس بطرس خطاب بمسیح کرده میگفت که ای آله سزاوار است که ما در اینجا اگر خواسته باشی سه	{و بعد ستة ایام اخذ یسوع بطرس و یعقوت و یوحنا آخاه واتی بهم الی جبل عال وحدهم وتجلی قدامهم واضاً وجهه کالشمس وکانت ثیابه بیضاً کالنور و اذا موسی وایلیا ظهرا له یخاطبانه اجاب بطرس وقال لیسوع یا رب جید ان نکون هاهنا تشاً ان نتخذ ثلثة مظال واحدة لك وواحدة لموسی وواحدة لایلیا وفیما هو



یتکلم واذا سحابه نيرة ظلمتهم وصوت من السحابة يقول هذا ابني الحبيب الذي به سررت فاسمعوا له فسمع تلاميذه وسقطوا على وجوههم وخافوا جداً وجاء يسوع اليهم ولمسهم وقال قوموا لا تخافوا فرغوا عيونهم ولم يروا الا يسوع وحده فلما نزلوا من الجبل اوصاهم يسوع قايلاً لا تعلموا احداً بالروياً حتى يقوم ابن الانسان من الاموات}.	نمونه بر داريم يكي بواسطة شما و يكي بواسطة موسى و يكي بواسطة ايليا درين سخن بود كه ابري پُر صوت و صدای ايشانرا فرو گرفته ميكفت كه اين پسر منست كه بآن خوشحال و مسرورم پس بشنوید این سخنانرا شاكردان مسيح بعد از استماع این سخنان و آله و شيدا كرده بر روی در آمدند و بغایت خوفناك كردیدند و مسيح بعد از آن بدست مبارك خویش ايشانرا مس مینمود و میفرمود كه بر خیزید و مترسید پس شاكردان چشمهای خود را باز نموده ندیدند مكر مسيح را و بعد از آنكه از كوه فرود آمدند مسيح وصيت فرمود ايشانرا كه این رؤيت را بكسی مكوئید تا وقتی كه پسر انسان بر خیزد از میان مردگان}.	نمونه بر داريم يكي بواسطة شما و يكي بواسطة موسى و يكي بواسطة ايليا در این سخن بود كه ابري پر صوت و صدا ايشانرا فرو گرفته ميكفت كه این پسر منست كه بآن خوشحال و مسرورم پس بشنوید این سخنان را شاكردان مسيح بعد از استماع این سخنان و اله و شيدا كرده بر روی در آمدند و بغایت خوفناك كردیدند و مسيح بعد از آن بدست مبارك خویش ايشانرا مس مینمود و میفرمود كه بر خیزید و مترسید پس چشمهای خود را باز نموده ندیدند مكر مسيح را و بعد از آنكه از كوه فرود آمدند مسيح وصيت فرمود ايشانرا كه این رویت را بكسی مكوئید تا وقتی كه پسر انسان بر خیزد از میان مردگان}.	منست كه باو خوشحال و مسرورم}.	منست كه باو خوشحال و مسرورم}.
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Matt. 18:18- 19 or 19 (Coptic chap. 57)	{اكر دو كس از شما اتفاق كرده طلب چیزی نمایند خواهد بود ايشانرا از جانب پدرم كه در آسمانست}.	{اكر دو كس از شما اتفاق كرده طلب چیزی نمایند خواهد بود ايشانرا از جانب پدرم كه در آسمانست}.	{حقست آنچهی كه ميكويم شما را آنچهی را كه شما بنديد بسته ميكردد در اسمانها و آنچهی را كه شما كشايید كشاده ميكردد در اسمانها باز ميكويم شما را اگر آنكه دو كس از شما متفق شده در زمين طلب چیزی نمایند خواهد بود ايشانرا از جانب پدرم كه در آسمانست}.	{حقست آن چیزی كه ميكويم شما را آن چیزی را كه شما بنديد بسته ميكردد در آسمانها و آن چیزی را كه شما بكشايید كشاده ميكردد در آسمانها باز ميكويم شما را اكر آنكه دو كس از شما متفق شده در زمين طلب چیزی نمایند خواهد بود ايشانرا از جانب پدرم كه در آسمانست}.	{الحق اقول لكم ان كلما ربطتموه على الارض يكون مربوطاً في السموات وما حللتموه على الارض يكون محلولاً في السماء الحق اقول لكم ايضاً اذا اتفق اثنان منكم على الارض في كل شيء يطلبانه يكون لهما من قبل ابي الذي في السموات}.
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Matt. 21:19-	{مسيح درختی را دیده از میوه تین كه نبود در ان غير از	{مسيح درختی را دید از میوه تین كه نبود در ان غير	{ونظر شجرة تين على الطريق فجا إليها فلم
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20a, 21  
(Coptic  
chap.  
67)

يجد فيها شيئاً آلاً ورقاً  
فقط فقال لها لا تخرج  
منك ثمرة الى الابد  
فبيست تلك الشجرة  
للوقت فنظر التلاميذ  
وتعجبوا [...] اجاب  
يسوع وقال لهم الحق  
اقول لكم ان كان لكم  
ايمان ولا تشكون ليس  
مثل هذه الشجرة التي  
تصنعون فقط لكن  
تقولون لهذا الجبل تعال  
واسقط في البحر  
فيكون.  
از برک پس فرمود که ای  
درخت از تو میوه نروید تا ابد  
پس خشک کردید درین  
وقت شاگردان مسیح ازین  
واقعه متعجب گردیدند بعد  
از ان فرمود مسیح بایشان که  
بگویم شما را حق اگر آنکه  
شما را ايمان بوده باشد و  
صاحبان شک و ريب نبوده  
باشید نه آنکه همین قدرت  
ببر گردانیدن این درخت  
داشته باشید بلکه این کوه را  
اگر حکم فرمایید بآمدن و  
بدريا افتادن قبول نمایید.

Matt. 24:35- 36 (Coptic chap. 78, 79)	{آسمانها و زمین فانی خواهد کردید و کلام من باقی خواهد بود و قیامت را کسی نمیداند نه ملائیکه آسمان و نه پسر انسان غیر از پدر}.	{اسمانها و زمین فانی خواهد کردید و کلام من باقی خواهد بود و قیامت را کسی نمی داند نه ملائیکه اسمان و نه پسر انسان غیر از پدر}.	{والسماء والارض يزولان وكلامي لا يزول فاما ذلك اليوم والساعة لا يعرفها احد ولا ملايكة السموات الا الاب وحده}.
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Matt. 26:14- 16 (Coptic chap. 86)	{یکی ازین دوازده کس که زمان امر و نهی را بدست ایشان داده شده است یهوذا اسخریوطی است و آن پیش روساء کهنه رفته سوال نموده از ایشان که چه خبر مرا میدهد تا آنکه مسح را تسلیم شما نمایم پس او را سی درهم رشوه دادند تا آنکه مسیح را بایشان تسلیم نماید و او از ابتدای گرفتن رشوه کبّد و حبله مینمود که مسیح را تسلیم ایشان کند تا آنکه شهیدش نمایند}.	{یکی ازین دوازده کس که زمان امر و نهی بدست ایشان داده شده است یهوذا الاسخریوطی است و او پیش روساء کهنه رفته سوال نموده از ایشان که چه خبر میدهد مرا تا آنکه مسح را تسلیم شما نمایم پس او را سی درهم رشوه دادند تا آنکه مسیح را بایشان تسلیم نماید و او از ابتدای گرفتن رشوه کبّد و حبله مینمود که مسیح را تسلیم ایشان کند تا آنکه شهیدش نمایند}.	{حينئذ مضى احد الاثني عشر الذي يقال له يهوذا الاسخریوطي الي روسا الكهنة وقال لهم ماذا تعطونني حتى اسلمه اليكم فقاموا له ثلثين من الفضة ومن ذلك الوقت كان يطلب حيلة ليسلمه}.
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Matt. 26:21b- 23, 25	{مسیح خطاب بشاگردان خود نموده میگفت که شما را حق و صدق بگویم بدانید	{مسیح خطاب بشاگردان خود نموده میگفت که شما را حق و صدق بگویم بدانید	{قال الحق اقول لكم ان واحد منكم يسلمني فحزنوا جداً وبدا كلّ
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(Coptic chap. 88)	<p>که یکی از شما مرا تسلیم اعدا خواهد کرد و پس شاکردان اندوهکین کردیده هر يك از ایشان می‌گفتند شاید که من بوده باشم یا ربّ و مسیح در جواب ایشان می‌فرمود که آنکس که دست خود را با دست من در صفحه [کذا] نهاده است مرا تسلیم اعدا خواهد نمود بعد از آن یهودا بصد و جواب در آمده گفت شاید که من آنکس بوده باشم پس مسیح خطاب باو نموده فرمود که تویی}.</p>	<p>که یکی از شما مرا تسلیم اعدا خواهد کرد و پس شاکردان اندوهکین کردیده هر يك از ایشان می‌گفتند شاید که من بوده باشم یا رب و مسیح در جواب ایشان می‌فرمود که آنکس که دست خود را با دست من در صفحه [کذا] نهاده است مرا تسلیم اعدا خواهد نمود بعد از آن یهودا بصد و جواب در آمده گفت شاید که من آنکس بوده باشم پس مسیح خطاب باو نموده فرمود که تویی}.</p>	<p>واحد منهم يقول لعليّ انا هو يا ربّ فاجاب وقال الذي يجعل يده معي في الصحيفة هو يسلمني [...] اجابه يهودا مسلمه وقال لعليّ انا هو يا معلم فقال له انت قلت}.</p>
Matt. 26:48-50 (Coptic chap. 92)	<p>{يهودا وعده فرموده بود بدشمنان که مسیح را تقبیل خواهم کرد پس شما او را شناخته بگیریید و بعد از آن آمده خطاب بمسیح نمود که سلام علیک یا مُعَلِّم و بعد از آن تقبیلش کرد پس مسیح فرمود که ای یهودان [کذا] بواسطه گرفتن من آمده‌اید و بعد از آن مسیح را دشمنان گرفته برده‌اند}.</p>	<p>{يهودا وَعَدَه فرموده بود بدشمنان که مسیح را تقبیل خواهم کرد پس شما او را شناخته بگیریید و بعد از آن آمده خطاب بمسیح نمود که سلام علیک یا معلّم و بعد از آن تقبیلش کرد پس مسیح فرمود که ای یهودان [کذا] بواسطه گرفتن من آمده‌اید و بعد از آن مسیح را دشمنان گرفته بردند}.</p>	<p>{والذي اسلمه اعطاهم علامة وقال الذي اقتبله هو هو فامسكوه ولوقت جاء الی يسوع وقال له سلام يا معلم وقبّله فقال له يسوع يا هذا لهذا جيت حينئذ جاؤا ووضعوا ايديهم على يسوع وامسكوه}.</p>
Matt. 26:69-75b (Coptic chap. 93)	<p>{بطرس} بيرون خانه ايستاده بود جاريه نزد آن آمده خطاب با او نمود که تو با يسوع جليلي يعنى مسيح بوده پس بطرس انكار او نموده بعد از آن بطرس رو به خانه ربيس كهنه ايستاد و كنيز ديكر خطاب باو نمود [...] که تو با يسوع ناصري بوده باز انكار نموده قسم ياد کرد بانکه من او را نمی</p>	<p>{بطرس} در بيرون خانه ايستاده بود جاريه نزد او آمده خطاب بوی نمود که تو بوده با يسوع جليلي يعنى مسيح پس بطرس انكار او نموده در اندرون آنخانه در آمد كنيز ديكر خطاب باو نمود که تو با يسوع ناصري بوده باز بطرس انكار وی کرده قسم ياد نمود که من او را نمیشناسم و بعد از آن طایفه از كهنه آمده خطاب ببطرس</p>	<p>{وان بطرس كان جالسًا في الدار خارجًا فجمّات اليه جارية فقالت له وانت كنت مع يسوع الجليلي فانكر قدام الجمع وقال لست ادري ما تقولين وخرج الی الباب رآته أخرى فقالت للذين هناك وهذا مع يسوع الناصري كان وايضًا نكر وحلف اني لست اعرف هذا النسان</p>

و بعد قليل جاء القيامة وقالوا لبطرس حقاً انك منهم وكلامك يظهر حينئذ بدا يحرم ويحلف اني ما اعرف هذا الانسان وللوقت صاح الديك فذكر بطرس كلام يسوع الذي قال له انه من قبل ان يصيح الديك تكبرني ثلث مرات فخرج بطرس خارجاً.	نمودند که تو از یاران مسیحی باز بطرس انکار ایشان نموده قسم یاد کرد که او را نمیشناسم درین هنکام خروسی آواز داده بطرس بخاطرش رسید کلام مسیح که باو گفته بود سابق بر این که تو انکار من خواهی کرد سه نوبت پیش از آنکه خروس بانگ دهد.	شناسم و بعد از ان طایفه از کهنه آمد خطاب ببطرس نمودند که تو از یاران مسیحی بطرس انکار او نموده قسم یاد کرد بانکه نمیشناسم او را درین هنکام خروسی آواز داده بطرس بخاطرش رسید کلام مسیح که فرموده پس ازین باو که تو انکار می خواهی نمودن سه نوبت قبل از آنکه خروس آواز دهد.
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Mark 2:27-28 (Coptic chap. 8)	{شنبه بواسطه انسانست نه آنکه انسان بواسطه شنبه است و پسر انسان خدای شنبه است}.	{شنبه بواسطه انسان است نه اینکه انسان بواسطه شنبه است و پسر انسان خدای شنبه است}.	{شنبه بواسطه انسانست و مخلوق نیست انسان بواسطه آن و پسر انسان خدای شنبه است}.	{شنبه بواسطه انسانست و مخلوق نیست انسان بواسطه آن و پسر انسان خدای شنبه است}.	{السبت من اجل الانسان كان ولم يخلق الانسان لاجل السبت وابن الانسان هو رب السبت}.
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Mark 8:27b, 29-33 (Coptic chap. 27)	{مسیح] در راه سوال نمود از شاگردان خویش که مردمان چه میکویند درباره [ ... ] فرمود مسیح که شما چه میکویند پس بطرس گفت که تو مسیحی پس منع فرمود ایشانرا از بیان نمودن آن بواسطه مردمان و بعد از آن فرمود که پسر انسان الم بسیار خواهد کشید و کشته خواهد کردید و در روز سیم بر خواهد خواستن پس بطرس منع میکرد مسیح را ازین سخنان و مسیح بعد از آن نظر بشاگردانش کرده از ایشان بطرس را منزجر کردانید بانکه ای شیطان روانه شده فکر و اندیشه در ذات خدا و حریم الهی روا نیست بلکه باید که فکر نما در ذات مردمان نمایید}.	{مسیح] در راه سوال نمود از شاگردان خویش که مردمان چه میکویند درباره [ ... ] فرمود مسیح که شما چه میکویند پس بطرس گفت که تو مسیحی پس منع فرمود ایشانرا از بیان نمودن آن بواسطه مردمان و بعد از آن فرمود که پسر انسان الم بسیار خواهد کشید و کشته خواهد کردید و در روز سیوم بر خواهد خواستن پس بطرس منع میکرد مسیح را ازین سخنان و مسیح بعد از آن نظر بشاگردان کرده منزجر کردانید از ایشان بطرس را بانکه ای شیطان روانه کرد فکر و اندیشه در ذات خدا و حریم الهی روا نیست باید که فکر نمایی در ذات مردمان}.	{مسیح] در راه سوال نمود از شاگردان خویش که مردمان چه میکویند درباره [ ... ] فرمود مسیح که شما چه میکویند پس بطرس گفت که تو مسیحی پس منع فرمود ایشانرا از بیان نمودن آن بواسطه مردمان و بعد از آن فرمود که پسر انسان الم بسیار خواهد کشید و کشته خواهد کردید و در روز سیوم بر خواهد خواستن پس بطرس منع میکرد مسیح را ازین سخنان و مسیح بعد از آن نظر بشاگردان کرده منزجر کردانید از ایشان بطرس را بانکه ای شیطان روانه کرد فکر و اندیشه در ذات خدا و حریم الهی روا نیست باید که فکر نمایی در ذات مردمان}.	{وفي الطريق سأل [يسوع] تلاميذه ماذا تقول الناس اني انا [ ... ] فقال لهم فانتم ماذا تقولون اني انا اجاب بطرس وقال انت هو المسيح فمنعهم ان يقولوا لاحد شيئاً من اجله ويذا يعلمهم ان ابن الانسان يولم كثيراً ويرذل من المشيخة وروساء الكهنة والكنبة ويقتلونه وفي اليوم الثالث يقوم وعلانية كان يقول هذا فامسكه بطرس وجعل يمنعه فالتفت ونظر الى تلاميذه وزجر بطرس وقال له اذهب خلفي يا شيطان لانك لا تفكر في ذات الله لكن في ذات الناس}.
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Mark 9:12a, 13	{ايليا آينده است و جميع چيزها را بعدالت و استقامت بجای خواهد آورد شما را	{ايليا آينده است و جميع چيزها را بعدالت و استقامت بجای خواهد آورد شما را	{قال [يسوع] لهم ان ايلياء قد جاء أولاً واعدل كل شيء [ ... ] اقول
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(Coptic  
chap.  
28)

لکم ان ایلیآء قد جآء وصیت مینمایم بایلیا که  
وصیت می نمایم بایلیا که  
وصنعوا به ما احبوا کما خواهد آمد و بجای آورد آن  
خواهد آمد و بجای آورد  
هو مکتوب من اجله}. چیزی را که دوست دارد  
چیز را که دوست دارد  
چنانچه مأمور است بآن و چنانچه مأمور است بآن و  
نوشته گردیده است از جهت نوشته گردیده است از جهت  
او}. آن}.

Mark  
10:2-8a  
(Coptic  
chap.  
31)

{وجآء الیه الفریسیون }فرسیون نزد مسیح آمده و  
{فرسیان آمده نزد مسیح و  
وسالوه هل یحلّ للرجل سوال نمودند از حلال بودن  
سوال نمودند از حلال بودن  
ان یطلّق امراته لیجرّیوه طلاق از جهت امتحان  
طلاق از جهت امتحان  
اجاب وقال لهم بماذا نمودن پس مسیح فرمود که  
نمودن پس مسیح فرمود که  
اوصاکم موسی قالوا امر موسی چه وصیت نموده  
موسی چه وصیت نموده  
موسی ان یکتب کتاب است شما را گفتند که  
است شما را گفتند که  
الطلاق وتخلی اجاب فرموده و حکم نموده است  
فرموده و حکم نموده است  
یسوع وقال لهم من بروا بودن طلاق و نوشتن  
بروا بودن طلاق و نوشتن  
اجل قسوة قلوبکم کتب کتاب طلاق و رها کردن  
کتاب طلاق و رها کردن  
لکم موسی هذه الوصیة زنان پس مسیح در جواب  
زنان پس مسیح در جواب  
لانهما فی بدء الخلیقة ایشان فرموده گفت که  
ایشان فرموده گفت که  
خلقهما الله ذکرًا واثنی موسی این حکم را بواسطه  
موسی این حکم را بواسطه  
ولذلك یترك الرجل اباه شما کرده از جهت قساوتی  
شما کرده از جهت قساوتی  
وامه یلصق بامرآته ویکنون که در دلهای شماست زیرا  
که در دلهای شماست زیرا  
کلاهما جسدًا واحدًا}. که زن و شوهر در ابتداء  
که زن و شوهر در ابتداء  
خلقت و بَدء فَطَرْتُ خدای خدای ایشانرا مرد و زن آفریده  
ایشانرا مرد و زن آفریده  
ایشانرا مرد و زن آفریده  
الفت را در میانه ایشان  
را در میان ایشان انکیخته  
انکیخته است و بواسطه  
است و بواسطه اینست که  
اینست که مرد پدر و مادر  
مرد پدر و مادر خود را  
مرد پدر و مادر خود را  
کذاشته مربوط بزن خود  
کذاشته مربوط بزن خود  
خود میشود}.  
خود میشود}.

Mark  
10:5, 11  
(Coptic  
chap.  
31)

{من اجل قسوة قلوبکم }توریه صریحست بحلال  
{توریه صریحست بحلال  
کتب لکم موسی هذه بودن طلاق من که مسیحم  
بودن طلاق من که مسیحم  
الوصیة [ ... ] من طلق قابل بان نیستم و کسی که  
قابل بان نیستم و کسی که  
امراته وتزوج اخرى فقد زن مطلقه را خواستکاری  
زن مطلقه را خواستکاری  
زنی علیها}. نماید فاسق و زناکار باشد  
نماید فاسق و زناکار باشد  
مکر که طلاق دادن آن زن مکر که طلاق دادن آن زن  
مکر که طلاق دادن آن زن بواسطه زنایی بود که ازو  
بواسطه زنایی بود که ازو  
بظهور آمده باشد}. بظهور آمده باشد}.

Mark  
13:5b-  
7a

{انظروا لا یضلکم احد }نظر نمایند که بسیار آینده کان  
{نظر نمایند که بسیار آینده کان  
فان کثیرون یاتون باسمی بوده باشند که دعوی مسیح  
بوده باشند که دعوی مسیح  
قایلین انی انا هو المسیح بودن نموده جمعی را کمره  
بودن نموده جمعی را کمره

(Coptic chap. 42)	کمره نمایند باید که اختیار حرب و جنگ نماید [کذا].	نمایند پس باید که اختیار جنگ و حرب نموده مضطرب نکردید.	نمایند پس باید که اختیار جنگ و حرب نموده مُضطرب نکردید.	ویضلون کثیرین فاذا سمعتم بالحروب واخبار الحروب لا تضطربوا.
Mark 14:66-72b	{بطرس در پایین آنخانه آمده کنیزی از کنیزان ریس و بزرگی ایشان بطرس را دید که بآتش کرم میکردید خطاب باو نمود که تو از رفقاً و یاران مسیح ناصری بطرس انکار نموده گفت نمیدانم چه میکویی و بعد از ان از ان خانه بیرون آمد مقارن این حال خروسی بانک داد بطرس را کنیزی دیگر دیده پدر آنخانه خطاب نمود که این کس از یاران مسیحست بطرس انکار این نموده و بعد از اندک زمانی دربان خطاب بیطرس نموده گفت حق آنست که تو از مردمان مسیحی و تو جلیلی بطرس متوجه لعن کردید انکار آن فرمود و قسم یاد کرد که مسیح را نمی شناسم نوبت دیگر خروس آواز داد بطرس را گفته مسیح بخاطر آمد که تو انکار شناخت من که مسیحم سه نوبت خواهی نمودن بیش از آنکه خروس دو نوبت بانک دهد.	{بطرس در اسفل ان خانه آمد کنیزی از کنیزان آن ریس بطرس را دیده که بآتش کرم میکردید پس خطاب باو نموده گفت که تو از رفقاً و یاران مسیح ناصری بوده بطرس انکار او نموده گفت نمیدانم چه میکویی بعد از این از آنخانه بین رفت و مقارن این حال خروسی بانک داد پس کنیزی دیگر بطرس را دیده بحاجب گفت که این کس از مردمان مسیح است بطرس انکار این نمود و بعد از اندک زمانی حاجت خطاب بیطرس نموده گفت حق آنست که تو از مردمان مسیحی و تو جلیلی بطرس شروع بلعن کرده انکار ان نموده قسم خورد بر این که مسیح را نمی شناسم نوبت دیگر خروس بانک داد پس بطرس گفته مسیح بخاطر مَن آمد که ای بطرس انکار شناخت مَن که مسیحم هواهی نمودن سه نوبت بیش از آنکه خروس دو بار.	{بطرس بعد از آنکه مسیح را کهنه گرفته نزد ریس خویش بردند او در اسفل [..] آمده پس کنیزی که از کنیزان آن ریس بطرس [..] که کرم میکردید از آتش چه هوای بود پس او را خطاب نموده گفت که تو نیز با یسوع ناصری یعنی مسیح بطرس انکار او نموده بطرس انکار او نموده گفت نمیدانم چه میکویی پس از ان خانه بیرون رفته خروس بانک داد و قنایه دیگر او را دیده گفت قیام را که این دیده گفت قیام را که این کس از ایشانست باز بطرس انکار او نموده بعد از اندک زمانی قیام بیطرس گفت حق آنست که تو از اینجماعتی و تو خلیلی [کذا] پس بطرس ابتداء بلعن کرده قسم یاد نمود بانکه نمی شناسم مسیح را پس نوبت دیگر خروس بانک داد بطرس گفته مسیح بخاطرش رسید که دربار او بجای آورده بود که تو پیش از بانک خروس دوبار انکار من که مسیحم سه نوبت خواهی کرد.	{وینما بطرس فی اسفل الدار جآت فتاه من جواری ریس الکهنه رآته یصطلي فلما رآته قالت له وانت ایضاً قد کنت مع یسوع الناصري فانکر وقال لیس ادري ولا اعرف ما تقولین وخرج الی خارج الدار فصاح الדיک وراته فتاه اخری فقالت للقیام ان هذا منهم فانکر ایضاً وبعد قليل قال القیام لبطرس حقاً انک منهم وانت جلیلی وکلامک یشبه کلامهم فبدا یلعن ویحلف انه ما یعرف هذا الانسان الذي تقولون ثم مکانه صاح الדיک ثانیة فذکر بطرس قول یسوع انک قبل ان یصیح الדיک مرتین تکبرني ثلاث مرّات.
Mark 16:15-16	{مسیح فرمان داد بشاکردان که بروید و بشارت دهید خلاق را بانجیل پس هر کس که عمل نماید باو سالم گردد از عذاب خدا و آنکس که ایمان نیاورد بآن و عمل	{مسیح فرمان داد بشاکردان که بروید و بشارت دهید خلاق را بانجیل پس هر کس که عمل نماید بان سالم گردد از عذاب خدا و آنکس که ایمان نیاورد بآن و عمل	{فقال [مسیح] لهم انطلقوا الی العالم اجمع واکرزوا بالانجیل فی الخلیقة کلها فمن امن واعتمد خلص ومن لم یومن یدان.	

	عمل ننماید بمضمون آن معاقب و آتم بوده باشد.	ننماید بمضمون آن معاقب و آتم بوده باشد.	
Mark 16:19 (Coptic chap. 54)	{چون رب تکلم باین کلمات خواهد نمود مقبوض خواهد شد بآسمان و بجانب راست پدر خواهد نشست}.	{چون رب تکلم باین کلمات خواهد نمود مقبوض باسماں خواهد شد و بجانب راست پدر خواهد نشست}.	{ومن بعد ما کلمهم الرب يسوع ايضًا ارتفع الى السماء وجلس عن يمين الاب}.
Luke 3:23b-31 (Coptic chap. 10)	{مسیح بود پسر یوسف پسر هالی بن مطیب [کذا] بن لاوی بن ملکی بن یونا بن یوسف بن مطاتیوا بن عاموص بن ناحوم بن حیلی [کذا] بن نجا بن بات [کذا] بن یوسف بن سمان بن یوحنا بن ريسا زوربائیل بن شلتائیل نیری بن ملکی بن ادى بن قوصام بن ایل بن یوسا بن اليعازر بن یورام بن مطات بن لاوی بن سمون بن یهودا بن یوسف بن یونان بن یورام بن مطات بن لاوی بن سمون بن یونان بن الياقيم بن مننان بن مطاتا بن ناتان بن داود عليه السلام}.	{مسیح بود پسر یوسف پسر هالی بن مطیت بن لاوی بن ملکی بن یونا بن یوسف بن مطاتیوا بن عاموص بن ناحوم بن بات [کذا] بن مطاتیوا بن سمان بن یوسف بن یهودا بن یوحنا بن ريسا بن زوربائیل بن شلتائیل بن نیری بن ملکی بن ادى بن قوصام بن الماضان بن ایل بن یوسا بن اليعازر بن یورام بن مطات بن لاوی بن سمون بن یهودا بن یوسف بن یونان بن الياقيم بن مننان بن مطاتا بن ناتان بن داود عليه السلام}.	{وكان يظن ان [مسیح] ابن يوسف بن هالي بن مطيت بن لاوي بن ملكي بن يونا بن يوسف بن مطاتيو بن عاموص بن ناحوم بن حسلي بن نجّا بن مات بن مطاتيو بن سمان بن يوسف بن يهودا بن يوحنا بن ريسا بن زوربائيل بن شلتائيل بن نيري بن ملكي بن ادى بن قوصام بن الماضان بن ايل بن يوسا بن اليعازر بن يورام بن مطات بن لاوي بن سمون بن يهودا بن يوسف بن يونان بن الياقيم بن مننان بن مطاتا بن ناتان بن داود عليه السلام}.
Luke 6:6-11 (Coptic chap. 19)	{مسیح در روز شنبه داخل گروهی کردید که در میان ایشان کسی بود که دستش خشک گردیده بود و اینجماعت منتظر بودند که مسیح درین روز متوجه شفا بخشیدن آن بیمار خواهد شد یا نه پس مسیح	{مسیح در روز شنبه داخل گروهی کردید که در میان ایشان کسی بود که دستش خشک گردیده بود و آن جماعت متوجه بودند که مسیح درین روز اراده شفا دادن آن دارد یا نه درین ساعت مسیح امر فرمود بانکس به بر خاستن و بنظر	{مسیح در روز شنبه داخل جمعی از مردمان یهود شد و در میان ایشان شخصی بود که دستش خشک گردیده بود و آن جماعت متوجه بودند که مسیح درین روز اراده شفا دادن آن شخص دارد یا نه درین ساعت مسیح امر فرمود بانکس به
			{وكان في السبت الآخر وقد دخل الى المجمع يعلم وكان هناك انسان يده اليمنى يابسة وكان الكتبة والفرسيون يرصدونه هل ييري في السبت لكي يجدوا ما يقرونه فاما هو فكان عالمًا بافكارهم فقال

للرجل اليا بس اليد قم	خواستن و بنظر کردن بآن	کردن بانجماعت و سؤال	پس مسیح خطاب	خطاب بآنکس نمود که
وقف في الوسط فقام	جماعت بسؤال نمودن	نمودن ازیشان بآنکه	بانکس نمود که سؤال	سؤال از ان مردمان نموده
ووقف وقال لهم يسوع	ازیشان بانکه حلالست	حلالست کردن خیر یا شرّ	از ان مردمان نموده	بکوی که کردن خیر
اسالکم ماذا یحلّ ان	کردن خیر یا شرّ پس آن	پس آنکروه متوجه جواب	بکوی که کردن خیر	نیکوست یا نه یهودان در
یعمل في السّبت خیر ام	جماعت متوجّه جواب	نکردیدند بواسطه قساوتی که	نیکوست یا نه یهودان	معرض جواب از قساوتی
شرّاً نفس تخلص ام	نکردیدند بواسطه قساوتی که	در دل داشتند پس مسیح	در معرض جواب از	که داشتند در نیامدند
تهلك فسکتوا فالتفت	در دل داشتند پس مسیح امر	فرمود بدراز نمودن آنکس	قساوتی که داشتند در	بعد از ان مسیح حکم
الی جمعهم وقال	فرمود بدراز نمودن آنکس	دست خشک شده خود را و	نیامدند بعد از ان	نمود آنکس را بدراز
للا نسان ابسط يدک	دست خشک شده خود را و	بعد از دراز نمودن راست و	مسیح حکم نمود	نمودن دست خشک
فمدیده فاستوت یده	بعد از دراز نمودن راست و	صحیح کردید پس گروه	انکس را بدراز نمودن	خود را پس دراز نموده
مثل الاخری فامتلاوا	صحیح کردید پس گروه	فریسیان با مردمان هیردوس	دست خوشک خودرا	صحیح کردید و فریسیون
جهلاً وقال بعضهم	فریسیون با مردمان هیردوس	بصدد هلاک کردانیدن	پس دراز نموده صحیح	با مردمان هیردوس بصدد
لبعض ماذا تصنع	بصدد هلاک کردانیدن	مسیح شدند}.	کردید و فریسیون با	هلاک کردانیدن مسیح
یسوع}.	مسیح در آمدند}.		مردمان هیردوس بصدد	کردیدند}.
			هلاک کردانیدن مسیح	
			کردیدند}.	

Luke 12:10 (Coptic chap. 46)	{اگر کسی ناسزا گوید این انسانرا آمرزیده میشود و کسی که روح القدس را ناسزا گوید آمرزیده نخواهد شد}.	{اگر کسی ناسزا گوید این انسانرا آمرزیده خواهد شد و اگر کسی روح القدس را ناسزا گوید آمرزیده نخواهد شد}.
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John 1:1b, 3-4a, 10 or 1:1b-c, 10 (Coptic chap. 1)	{کلمه بود نزد خدا و خدا بود کلمه [...] خدا در دنیاست و از جهت او دنیا مخلوقست و مردمان دنیا او را نمی شناسند}.	{کلمه بود نزد خدا و خدا بود کلمه [...] خدا در دنیاست و از جهت او دنیا مخلوقست و مردمان دنیا او را نمی شناسند}.	{کلمه بود نزد خدا و خدا بود کلمه [...] خدای تعالی بسبب کلمه خالق جمیع چیزهاست و بی آن خالق چیزی نیست و آنچه را که خلق فرموده است در کلمه حیوة اوست [...] خود در دنیاست و از جهت او دنیا مخلوقست و مردمان دنیا او را نمی شناسند}.	{کلمه بود نزد خدا و خدا بود کلمه [...] خدای تعالی بسبب کلمه خلق جمیع چیزهاست و بی او خلق چیزی نمیفرماید و آن چیزی را که خلق فرموده است در کلمه حیات اوست [...] خود در دنیاست و از جهت او دنیا مخلوقست و مردمان دنیا او را نمی شناسند}.	{الكلمة كان عند الله والله هو الكلمة [...] كلّ به كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء مما كان وبه كانت الحياة [...] في العالم كان والعالم به كوّن والعالم لم يعرفه}.
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John 1:12b-14 (Coptic chap. 1)	{شما اولاد الله اید شما آنکسانید که متولّد از خون و شهوت نیستید بلکه متولّد از خدایید [...] پس کلمه ملتحم کردید درو و دیدم بزرگی	{شما أولاد الله اید شما آنکسانید که متولّد از خون و شهوت نیستید بلکه متولّد از خدا [...] پس کلمه ملتحم کردید و کلمه بود بشر و	{شما اولاد الله اید شما آنکسانید که متولّد شده اید نه از خون و شهوت بلکه متولّداید از خدا پس کلمه ملتحم کردید و کلمه بود بشر و ساکن کردید درو و دیدم	{شما اولاد الله اید شما آنکسانید که متولّد شده اید نه از خون و شهوت بلکه متولّداید از خدا پس کلمه ملتحم کردید و کلمه بود بشر و ساکن کردید درو و	{فاما الذين قبلوه فاعطاهم سلطاناً ان يصيروا بني الله الذين يومنون باسمه وليس هم من دم ولا من هوى لحم ولا من مشية رجل
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لكن ولدوا من الله والكلمة صار جسداً وحلّ فينا وراينا مجده مجدداً مثل الوحيد الذي من الاب الممتلى نعمة وحقاً}.	دیدم بزرگی و عظمت او را مانند بزرگی خدا}.	بزرگی و عظمت او را مانند بزرگی خدا}.	ساکن کردید در او و دیدم بزرگی و عظمت او را مانند بزرگی خدا}.	و عظمت او را مانند بزرگی خدا}.
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John 1:35, 40-42 (Coptic chap. 3)	{يوحنا يعني يحيى بن زكريا ايستاده بود و دو كس از شاگردان يوحنا كه يكي از ايشان اندراوس بود [...] و بعد از مفارقت اندراوس از مرافقت مسيح بشمعون برادر خود رسیده خير داد او را از مسيح پس متوجه ملازمت مسيح شده بخدمت آنحضرت رسيد بعد از آن مسيح نظر بشمعون کرده فرمود كه تویی شمعون ابن يونا تویی كه مدعی صفایی كه تاويلش بُطْرُس است}.	{يوحنا يعني يحيى بن زكريا ايستاده بود و دو كس از شاگردان يوحنا كه يكي از ايشان اندراوس بود [...] و بعد از مفارقت اندراوس از مرافقت مسيح بشمعون برادر خود رسیده خير داد او را از مسيح پس متوجه ملازمت مسيح شده بخدمت آن حضرت رسيد بعد از ان مسيح نظر بشمعون کرده فرمود كه تویی شمعون بن نوبا [كذا] تویی كه مدعی صفایی كه تاويلش بطرس است}.	{يوفي الغدّ كان يوحنا واقفاً واتان من تلاميذه [...] ] واندراوس اخو سمعان كان واحدًا من الأثنين الذين سمعا من يوحنا وتبعاه هذا وجد أولًا سمعان اخاه وقال له قد وجدنا مسيّا الذي تاويله المسيح فجاء به الي يسوع فلمّا نظر اليه يسوع قال له انت سمعان ابن يونا انت تدعى الصفا الذي تاويله بطرس}.
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John 5:6-17 (Coptic chap. 10)	{مسيح خطاب به بیماری نمود که ترا اراده صحتت بعد از آنکه طلب صحت نمود خطاب بمسيح کرده که مرا نیست کسی که ببرکه آب رساند تا بتحریرک شما آن آب را شفایابم مسیح فرمود که کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه آن برکه کرد پس آن بیمار در ان هنگام صحت یافته کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه کردید و بحسب اتفاق آنروز شنبه بود يهودان برو جمع آمده اعتراض بر ان بیمار ببر داشتن کرسی در ان روز نمودند آن مريض	{مسيح خطاب به بیماری نمود که ترا اراده صحت است بعد از آنکه طلب صحت نمود خطاب بمسيح کرده که مرا نیست کسی که ببرکه آب رساند تا بتحریرک شما آن آبر شفايابم مسيح فرمود که کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه آن برکه آب کرد پس آن بیمار درین هنگام صحت یافته کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه کردید و بحسب اتفاق آنروز شنبه بود يهودان بر او جمع آمده اعتراض بر آن بیمار به	{مسيح خطاب نمود را که اراده شفا یافتن داری تا آنکه ترا ارزانی فرمایم پس در جواب گفت که ميخواهم يا سيّد ليکن کسی ندارم که مرا نزدیک آن برکه آب برد تا آنکه شفا يابم از حرکت فرمودن شما آن آبر مسيح فرمود بر خيز و سرير خود را بر داشته برو پس صحيح کردیده کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه کردید و آنروز بحسب اتفاق روز شنبه بود پس يهودان اعتراض نمودند گفتند بانكس که امروز شنبه است پس بر داشتن سرير از جای خود روا نیست بعد از آن در جواب يهودان گفت که آنکسی که مرا صحت بخشید فرمود که	{مسيح خطاب نموده بیماری را که اراده شفا یافتن داری تا آنکه ترا ارزانی فرمایم پس در جواب گفت که ميخواهم يا سيّد ليکن کسی ندارم که مرا نزدیک آن برکه آب برد تا آنکه شفا يابم از حرکت فرمودن شما آن ابرا مسيح فرمود که بر خيز و سرير خود را بر داشته برو پس صحيح کردیده کرسی خود را بر داشته روانه کردید و آنروز بحسب اتفاق روز شنبه بود پس يهودان اعتراض نمودند گفتند بانكس که امروز شنبه است پس بر داشتن سرير از جای خود روا نیست بعد از ان در جواب يهودان گفت که آنکسی که	{نظر يسوع الي هذا ملقي فعلم ان له سنين كثيرة فقال له اتحب ان تيرا اجاب ذلك المريض وقال نعم يا سيّد ولكن ليس لي انسان اذا تحرك الماء يلقيني في البركة بل الي ان اجي انا ينزل قدامي اخر قال له يسوع قم احمل سريرك وانطلق فمن ساعته برا الرجل وحمل سريره ومشي وكان ذلك اليوم سببًا فقال اليهود للذي شفني انه يوم سبت وليس يحل لك ان تحملك سريرك فاجابهم الذي ابراني هو قال لي احمل سريرك
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وامش فسألوه من هو الرجل الذي قال لك احمل سريرك وامش فأما الذي ابري فلم يكن يعلم من هو لان يسوع كان قد انتقل من الجمع الكبير الذي كان في ذلك الموضع وبعد هذا وجده يسوع في الهيكل فقال له قد عوفيت فلا تعد تخطئي لكيلا يكون لك شرّ اكثير فذهب ذلك الرجل واعلم اليهود ان يسوع هو الذي ابراه ومن اجل هذا كان اليهود يظردون يسوع ويريدون قتله لانه كان يفعل هذا في السبت فأما يسوع فقال لهم ابي حتى الآن يعمل وانا اعمل}.	مرأ صحتّ بخشيد فرمود که سرير خود را حمل نموده بروم بعد از آن يهودان سوال نمودند آنکس که ترا صحت بخشیده کیست و چون مسیح از آن گروه جدا شده بود نتوانست که بشناساند او را بعد از آنکه مسیح ملاقات آن مريض نمود فرمود که چون شفا يافتی تعدی مکن تا آنکه شرّ تو بیشتر نکردد و پس آنشخص رفت و اعلام نمود يهودانرا که مسیحی که مرا شفا داده است این شخص است پس يهودان بواسطه این بود که مسیح را دشمن داشتندی و بالجمله این جماعت چون مخالفت مسیح را بموسی در حکم توراة میدیدند اراده کشتن مسیح میکردند پس مسیح در معرض اعتذار در آمده میفرمود که پدرم این عمل را بجای می آورد من نیز بجای آوردم}.	بر داشتن کرسی در انروز نمودند ان بیمار متصدی جواب ایشان کردید که آنکه مرا صحت داده است مرا حکم به بر داشتن کرسی فرموده است و يهودان بعد از ان تفتیش از حال مسیح مینمودند که آنکه ترا صحتّ داده است در کجاست و چون که مسیح از ایشان جدا شده بود نتوانستند که او را شناسند و بعد از آنکه مسیح ملاقات با آن مريض نموده فرمود که او را شناسند و بعد از آنکه مسیح ملاقات با ان مريض نموده فرمود که چون شفا یافته ترک فساد نمای پس آنکس رفته يهودانرا اعلام نمود که آنکه مرا شفا داده است این کس است پس يهودان بصدد عداوت با مسیح در آمدند چرا که مخالفت با حکم توریه داشت تا که اراده کشتن او کردند و بعد از ان مسیح در معرض اعتذار در آمده میفرمود که پدرم این کرده را بجای آورده من نیز بجای آوردم}.	مرأ صحتّ بخشيد فرمود که سرير خود را حمل نموده بروم بعد از آن يهودان سوال نمودند آنکس که ترا صحت بخشیده کیست و چون مسیح از آن گروه جدا شده بود نتوانست که بشناساند او را بعد از آنکه مسیح ملاقات آن مريض نمود فرمود که چون شفا يافتی تعدی مکن تا آنکه شرّ تو بیشتر نکردد و پس آنشخص رفت و اعلام نمود يهودانرا که مسیحی که مرا شفا داده است این شخص است پس يهودان بواسطه این بود که مسیح را دشمن داشتندی و بالجمله این جماعت چون مخالفت مسیح را بموسی در حکم توراة میدیدند اراده کشتن مسیح میکردند پس مسیح در معرض اعتذار در آمده میفرمود که پدرم این عمل را بجای می آورد من نیز بجای آوردم}.	وامش فسألوه من هو الرجل الذي قال لك احمل سريرك وامش فأما الذي ابري فلم يكن يعلم من هو لان يسوع كان قد انتقل من الجمع الكبير الذي كان في ذلك الموضع وبعد هذا وجده يسوع في الهيكل فقال له قد عوفيت فلا تعد تخطئي لكيلا يكون لك شرّ اكثير فذهب ذلك الرجل واعلم اليهود ان يسوع هو الذي ابراه ومن اجل هذا كان اليهود يظردون يسوع ويريدون قتله لانه كان يفعل هذا في السبت فأما يسوع فقال لهم ابي حتى الآن يعمل وانا اعمل}.
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John 5:21- 23a (Coptic chap.	{چنانچه پدر اعطاء حیات بحیوانات میکند پسر نیز میکند و سلطنت خود را به پسر ارزانی داشته حکومت را محکوم حکم او گردانید و سلطنت حیات بخشیدن را	{چنانچه پدر اعطاء حیات بحیوانات میکند پسر نیز میکند و سلطنت خود را به پسر ارزانی داشت حکومت را محکوم حکم او گردانیده سلطنت حیات بخشیدن را	{چنانچه پدر حیوة را میدهد بحیوانات پسرش نیز میدهد و ارزانی داشت پدر به پسر خویش سلطنت و حکومت را محکوم او گردانید و سلطنت حیوة بخشیدن را و باو کرامت کرد	{چنانچه پدر حیات را میدهد بحیوانات پسرش نیز میدهد و ارزانی داشت پدر به پسر خویش سلطنت و حکومت را و محکوم او گردانید سلطنت حیات بخشیدن را و باو کرامت	{کما ان الاب یقیم الموتی ویحییهم کذلک الابن یحیی من شاء ویس الاب یدین احداً بل اعطی الحکم کله للابن لیکرّم الابن جمیع الناس کما
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11)	مختصّ او ساخت چنانچه سابقاً مختصّ پدر بود بلکه پدر جزای عمل بندکان خود را نیز باو گذاشت.	مختصّ او گردانید چنانچه سابقاً مختصّ پدر بود بلکه پدر جزای عمل بندکان خود را نیز باو گذاشت.	چنانچه پدرش را بود بلکه پدر را نیست که جزای عمل بندکانرا دهد و او را نیز گذاشت.	کرد چنانچه پدرش را بود بلکه پدر را نیست که جزای عمل بندکانرا دهد و آنرا نیز گذاشت.	یکرمون الاب}.
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John 5:33, 36 (Coptic chap. 12)	{شما بیوحنا یعنی یحیی بن زکریا ارسال نموده‌اید بواسطه شهادت دادن او بنیوت من و حال آنکه مرا شاهد بزرگتر از یوحناست و او عملهای است که اعطاء نموده است پدر مرا انچنان عملهای که شهادت میدهند بانکه پدر مرا فرستاده است}.	{شما بیوحنا یعنی یحیی بن زکریا ارسال نموده‌اید بواسطه آنکه شهادت دهد او برسالت و نیوت من و حال آنکه مرا شهادی بزرگتر از یوحناست و آن عبارتیست از کردهایی که اعطا کرده است پدر مرا انچنان کردهایی که شهادت دهند کانند بانکه پدر مرا برسالت فرستاده}.	{انتم ارسلتم الی یوحنا فشهد لی بالحقّ [...] وانا فلی شهادة اعظم من شهادة یوحنا لان الاعمال التي اعطاني الاب لاکملها هی هذه الاعمال التي اعملها تشهد من اجلي ان الاب لرسلي والاب الذي ارسلني هو یشهد لي}.
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John 7:22a (Coptic chap. 18)	{موسی عطا کرده است شما را ختان نه از جهتی که ازوست بلکه از انجهت که حکم جمیع انبیاء ما تقدّم است}.	{موسی عطا کرده است شما را ختان نه از جهتی که ازوست بلکه از انجهت که حکم جمیع انبیاء ما تقدّم است}.	{اعطاکم موسی الختان لا لانه من موسی ولکنه من الابیاء}.
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John 8:3-11 (Coptic chap. 19)	{فریسیون زنی را که زنا ازو بظهور آمده بود گرفته نزد مسیح بردند بعد از انکه از کوه زیتون بهیکل تشریف آورده از جهت تعلیم مردمان پس آنجماعت خطاب بمسیح نمودند که ای معلّم ان زن را دیدیم که زنا میکرد و در ناموس موسی یعنی شریعت او وصیّت برجم زناکار واقعست پس ترا چه حکم است مسیح بعد از استماع این سخنان سر در زیر انداخت و بدستش خطها در زمین نقش مینمود و بعد از ساعتی سررا برداشته خطاب بانجماعت	{فریسیان زنی را که زنا ازو بظهور آمده بود گرفته پیش مسیح بعد از آنکه از کوه زیتون بهیکل تشریف آورده بود بواسطه تعلیم نمودن مردمان آوردند پس آنجماعت که آن زناکار را آورده بودند خطاب بمسیح نمودند که ای معلّم این زن را دیدیم که زنا میکرد و در ناموس موسی واقعست وصیّت برجم زانی پس چه می فرمائید درباره این زن و چگونه حکم می نمائید مسیح بعد از شنیدن این سخنان سر در زیر انداخته بدست مبارک خویش زمین را کتابت مینمود بعد از ساعتی سر بر داشته گفت آنجماعت که کناه کار نبوده باشد تا که	{فریسیون زنی را که زنا ازو بظهور آمده بود گرفته به پیش مسیح آوردند بعد از انکه از کوه زیتون بهیکل تشریف آورده بود بواسطه تعلیم نمودن مردمان پس آن جماعت که آن زناکار را آورده بودند خطاب بمسیح نمودند که ای معلّم این زن را دیدیم که زنا میکرد و در ناموس موسی واقعست وصیّت برجم زانی پس چه میفرمایید درباره این و چگونه حکم می نمایید مسیح بعد از شنیدن این سخنان سر بزر انداخته بدست مبارک خویش زمین را کتابت مینمود بعد از ساعتی سر بر داشته گفت آن جماعت را آیا از شما کسی هست که کناه	{فقدّم الیه الکتیبة والفریسیون مرأة وجدت فی زنا وواقفوها فی الوسط وقالوا یا معلم هذه المرأة وجدناها فی زنا و فی ناموس موسی یوصی ان ترجم فماذا تقول انت قالوا هذا لیجدوا علیه علّة فاما یسوع فاطرق وکتب باصبه علی الارض فلما استبطوا سؤالة رفع راسه وقال لهم من منکم بغیر خطیة فلیرحمها لو لا بحجر ثم اطرق وکتب علی الارض فلما سمعوا هذا منه متفهمین التکیة بدوا یخرجون واحداً واحداً الی ان خرج
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الشیوخ الی اخرهم وبقی یسوع وحده والمرأة التي كانت واقفة في الوسط فرفع يسوع راسه وقال لها يا امرأة اين اوليك ولا واحد دانك فقالت ولا واحد يا رب فقال لها يسوع ولا انا ادینك اذهي ومن الان لا تعودي إلى الخطیة}.	کار نبوده باشد تا انکس رجم این زن را بجای آورد و بعد ازین سخنان سر خویش را در زیر انداخته و بدست خویش زمین را باز کتابت مینمود و چون یهودان یافتند مراد مسیح را پس با جمیع مردمان و مشایخ آزمان که بصدد استفاده و تعلّم از مسیح بودند از هیکل بیرون رفته او را تنها گذاشتند	انکس رجم این زن را بجای آورد و بعد ازین سخنان سر خویش را در زیر انداخته و بدست خویش زمین را باز کتابت مینمود و چون یهودان یافتند مراد مسیح را پس با جمیع مردمان و مشایخ انزمان که بصدد استفاده و تعلّم از مسیح بوده‌اند از هیکل بیرون رفته او را تنها گذاشتند	نمود که آیا کسی از شما هست که کنه کار نبود تا که رجم بجای آورد و بعد ازین سخنان سر بزیر انداخته تغافل میوزید و بدست خویش خطها بر زمین میکشید و چونکه یهودان مراد مسیح را دانستند پس با جمیع مردمان و مشایخ آن زمان که بصدد استفاده و تعلّم از مسیح بودند از هیکل بیرون رفته او را تنها گذاشتند از جهت این که مخالفت با شریعت موسی و طریقت توریة داشت و بعد از ان مسیح خطاب بان زن نمود که من جزای عمل ترا نمیدهم باید که باین کناه رجوع نمایی}.	نمود که آیا کسی از شما هست که کنه کار نبود تا که رجم بجای آورد و بعد از ان سر بزیر انداخته [کذا] تغافل می وزید و بدستش خطها در زمین میکشید و چونکه یهودان مراد مسیح را دانستند پس با جمیع مردمان و مشایخ انزمان که بصدد استفاده و تعلّم از مسیح بودند از هیکل بیرون رفته او را تنها گذاشتند از جهت اینکه مخالفت با شریعت موسی و طریقت توریة داشت و بعد از ان مسیح خطاب بآنزن نمود که من جزاء عمل ترا نمیدهم باید که باین کناه رجوع نمایی}.
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John  
8:12a,  
13-14a  
(Coptic  
chap.  
20)

John  
8:14-18  
or 14-  
15, 17-  
18

{ثم ان يسوع كلّمهم ايضًا وقال انا هو نور العالم [...] قال له الفريسيون انت تشهد لنفسك ليست شهادتك حقًا اجاب يسوع وقال لهم اني وان كنت اشهد لنفسي فشهادتي حقّ}.	{مسیح میفرمود که من نور عالم پس بعضی از مردمان آنزمان گفتند که ای مسیح شهادت میدهی بواسطه خویش شهادت شما ناحق است پس مسیح فرمود که شهادت دادن من اگر بوده باشد از برای من پس حق و صدقست}.	{مسیح میفرمود که من نور عالم پس بعضی از مردمان آنزمان گفتند که ای مسیح شهادت میدهی بواسطه خویش شهادت شما ناحقتست پس مسیح فرمود که شهادت دادن من اگر بوده باشد از برای من پس حق و صدقتست}.	{مسیح ایشانرا بعد ازین واقعه ملاقات نموده فرمود که آنچه حکم می فرمایم راست و صدقتست و شما را علم نیست بآنکه از کجا آمده‌ام و	{مسیح ایشانرا بعد ازین واقعه ملاقات نموده فرمود که آنچه حکم می فرمایم راست و صدقتست و شما را علم نیست بآنکه از کجا آمده‌ام و	{مسیح ایشانرا بعد ازین واقعه ملاقات نموده فرمود که آنچه حکم می فرمایم راست و صدقتست و شما را علم نیست بآنکه از کجا آمده‌ام و	{اجاب يسوع وقال لهم اني وان كنت اشهد لنفسي فشهادتي حقّ لاني اعلم من اين اثيتُ والی اين اذهب فامّا انتم
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(Coptic chap. 20)	کجا آمده‌ام و بکجا خواهم رفت و در ملت شما یهودان جزای عمل واقعتست و در ملت من که مسیح واقعتست و در ناموس شما که شهادت دو مرد بر هر دعوی مسموعست من و انکه مرا فرستاده است شهادت برین مدعی میدهم باید که شما نیز قبول آن نمایید.	علم نیست که از کجا آمده‌ام و بکجا خواهم رفت و در ملت من واقع نیست بلکه من که مسیح‌ام و پدرم که مرا خلعت رسالت ارزانی داشته است بر انیم و در ناموس شما نوشته که شهادت دو مرد مسموعست بر هر دعوی که نمایند من و پدرم شهادت باید که مسموع است من و انکه مرا فرستاده است شهادت بر اینمدعی میدهم باید که شما نیز قبول آن نمایید.	و بکجا خواهم رفت و در ملت شما جزای عمل واقعتست و در ملت من واقع نیست بلکه من که مسیح‌ام و پدرم که مرا خلعت رسالت ارزانی داشته است بر انیم در ناموس شما نوشته که شهادت دو مرد مسموعست بر هر دعوی که نمایند و من و پدرم شهادت باین مدعی میدهم باید که شما نیز قبول آن نمایید.	فلا علم لکم من این اثیت ولا الی این امضی انتم انما تدینون جسدياً وانا لا ادين احدًا وان انا دنت فدیني حقّ هو لاني لست وحدي بل انا والأب الذي ارسلني وقد كتب في ناموسکم ان شهادة رجلين حق هي انا اشهد لنفسي وابي الذي ارسلني يشهد لي.
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John 8:15b-16	{من حکم نمیفرمایم بر کسی و اگر آنکه حکم نمایم حق و عدل خواهد بود چرا که من نیستم درین حکم تنها بلکه من و آنکسی که مرا برسات فرستاده است حکم مینمایم.	{من حکم نمیفرمایم بر کسی و اگر آنکه حکم نمایم حق و عدل خواهد بود چرا که من نیستم درین حکم تنها بلکه من و آنکسی که مرا برسات فرستاده است حکم مینمایم.	{وانا لا ادين احدًا وان انا دنت فدیني حق هو لاني لست وحدي بل انا والأب الذي ارسلني}.
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John 14:8-10a	{شخصی خطاب بمسیح نموده که سیدنا پدر را بمن مسیح در جواب او فرمود که در این زمان طویل در میان شما بودم ندانسته‌اید مرا پس بدانکه شخصی که مرا دیده است پدر را دیده است پس چگونه نه میگوید که پدر را بمن نمای ایا تصدیق نکرده که پدر در منست و من در پدر}.	{شخصی خطاب بمسیح نموده که سیدنا پدر را بمن مسیح در جواب او فرمود که در این زمان طویل در میان شما بودم ندانسته‌اید مرا پس بدانکه آنکسی که مرا دیده است پدر را دیده است پس چگونه نه میگوید که پدر را بمن نمای آیا تصدیق نکرده که پدر در منست و من در پدر}.	{قال له فيلبس يا سيد ارنا الاب وحسبنا قال له يسوع انا معكم كل هذا الزمان ولم تعرفني يا فيلبس من رأيي فقد رأي الاب فكيف تقول انت ارنا الاب اما تومن اني في الاب والاب هو في}.
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John 14:12-16	{هر کسی که ایمان بمن آورده باشد باید که بجای آورد آنچه را که من بجای آوردم بلکه بهتر از آن را چه من که روانه جانپ پدرم پس اگر شما دوستداری من مینماید باید که وصیت مرا حفظ کنید چه من که مسیح	{هر کس که ایمان بمن آورده باشد باید که بجای چیزی را که من بجای آوردم بلکه بهتر از آنرا چه که من روانه جانپ پدرم پس اگر شما دوستداری من مینماید باید که وصیت مرا حفظ کنید چه من که مسیح	{من یومن بی یعمل الاعمال التي اعملها وافضل منها يصنع لاني ماض الی الاب وكلّ شيء تسألون باسمي اصنعه لکم لیمجد الاب بالابن وان سألتموني باسمي افعل
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	لکم ما تریدونه وان کنتم تحبوني فاحفظوا وصایای وانا اطلب من الاب فیعطیکم فارقلیط اخر لیثب معکم الی الابد}.	مسیحم التماس از پدر خویش خواهم نمود بانکه بعد ازین فارقلیط را بفرستد بواسطه شما تا انکه ثابت بوده باشد ابدالدهر}.	التماس از پدر خویش خواهم نمود بانکه بعد ازین فارقلیط را بفرستد بواسطه شما تا انکه ثابت باشد ابدالدهر}.	کنید من که مسیحم التماس از پدر خویش خواهم نمودن که فارقلیط را بفرستد بواسطه شما تا انکه ثابت باشد ابدالدهر}.	ما حفظ کنید من که مسیحم التماس از پدر خویش خواهم نمودن که فارقلیط را بفرستد بواسطه شما تا انکه ثابت باشد ابدالدهر}.
John 14:20 (Coptic chap. 33)	{في ذلك اليوم تعلمون انتم انني في ابي وانتم في وانا فيکم}.	{من در پدرم و پدرم در من و شما در من و من در شما}.	{من در پدرم و پدرم در من و شما در من و من در شما}.	{من در پدرم و پدرم در من و شما در من و من در شما}.	{من در پدرم و پدرم در من و شما در من و من در شما}.
John 14:24b (Coptic chap. 33)	{الكلمة التي تسمعونها ليست لي بل للاب الذي ارسلني}.	{کمان شما نبوده باشد که من این سخنانرا از جانب خود میکویم بلکه از جانب آنکسی که مرا براستی فرستاده است میکویم}.	{کمان شما نبوده باشد که من این سخنان را از جانب خود میکویم بلکه از جانب آنکسی که مرا براستی فرستاده است میکویم}.	{کمان شما نبوده باشد که من این سخنان را از جانب خود میکویم بلکه از جانب آنکسی که مرا براستی فرستاده است میکویم}.	{کمان شما نبوده باشد که من این سخنان را از جانب خود میکویم بلکه از جانب آنکسی که مرا براستی فرستاده است میکویم}.
John 14:26 (Coptic chap. 34)	{الفارقلیط روح القدس الذي يرسله ابي باسمي هو يعلمکم کل شی وهو يذكرکم کَلَمًا قلته لکم}.	{فارقلیط روح القدس که پدرم او را ارسال خواهد کرد بنام من و تعلیم خواهد نمود جمیع خیرها را بواسطه شما و بیاد می آورد جمیع آنچه چیزی که بشما گفتهام}.	{فارقلیط روح القدس که پدرم او را ارسال خواهد کرد بنام من و تعلیم خواهد نمود جمیع خیرها را بواسطه شما و خواهد بود که بیاد آورد جمیع آنچه چیزی که شما را گفتهام}.	{فارقلیط روح القدس که پدرم او را ارسال خواهد کرد بنام من و تعلیم خواهد نمود جمیع خیرها را بواسطه شما و خواهد بود که بیاد آورد جمیع آنچه چیزی که شما را گفتهام}.	{فارقلیط روح القدس که پدرم او را ارسال خواهد کرد بنام من و تعلیم خواهد نمود جمیع خیرها را بواسطه شما و خواهد بود که بیاد آورد جمیع آنچه چیزی که شما را گفتهام}.
John 15:26- 27 (Coptic chap. 35)	{اذا جاء الفارقلیط الذي ارسله اليکم من الاب روح الحق الذي من الاب يثبت هو يشهد لاجلي وانتم تشهدون لانکم معي من الابتداء}.	{هر گاه فارقلیط از جانب خدا بیاید بشما بدانید و آگاه باشید که آن روح حقیقت از پدر و شهادت خواهد داد بواسطه شما و شما نیز شهادت دهید از ابتدای حالی که شما را اعلام بآن نموده ام}.	{هر گاه فارقلیط از جانب خدا بیاید بشما بدانید وآگاه باشید که او روح حقیقت از پدر و شهادت خواهد داد از برای شما و شما نیز شهادت دهید از جانب من از ابتدای حالی که شما را اعلام بآن نموده ام}.	{هر گاه فارقلیط از جانب خدا بیاید بشما بدانید وآگاه باشید که او روح حقیقت از پدر و شهادت خواهد داد از برای شما و شما نیز شهادت دهید از جانب من از ابتدای حالی که شما را اعلام بآن نموده ام}.	{هر گاه فارقلیط از جانب خدا بیاید بشما بدانید و آگاه باشید که او روح حقیقت از پدر و شهادت خواهد داد از برای شما و شما نیز شهادت دهید از جانب من از ابتدای حال که شما را اعلام آن نموده ام}.
John 16:7-8 or 7-9 (Coptic	{اقول لکم الحق انه خير لکم ان اطلق لاني ان لم اطلق لم ياتکم	{ای قوم حق را بگویم بشما تا انکه من نرمم فارقلیط نخواهد آمد و در آمدن او	{ای قوم حق را بگویم بشما تا انکه من نرمم فارقلیط نخواهد آمد و در آمدن او	{ای قوم حق را بگویم بشما تا انکه من نرمم فارقلیط نخواهد آمد و در	{ای قوم حق را بگویم بشما تا انکه من نرمم فارقلیط نخواهد آمد و در

chap. 35)	آمدن او مصالح بسیارست چه اوست که خطیۀ عالم را بر طرف سازد و مردمان را بر نیکی و حکم باز دارد.	آمدن او مصالح بسیار است چه اوست که خطئه عالم را بر طرف سازد و مردمان را بر نیکی و حکم باز دارد.	مصالح بسیار خواهد بود چه اوست که خطئه عالم را بر طرف سازد و مردمان را بر نیکی و حکم باز دارد اما آنست که مردمان عالم بامن نخواهند داشتن.	مصالح بسیار خواهد بود چه اوست که خطئه عالم را بر طرف سازد و مردمان را بر نیکی و حکم باز دارد اما خطئه آنست که مردمان عالم بامن نخواهند داشتن.	الفارقلیط فاما ان انطلقت ارسلته اليكم فاذا جاء ذاك فهو يوبخ العالم على الخطية وعلى البرّ وعلى الحكم اما علي الخطية فلانهم لم يؤمنوا بي.
John 17:1 (Coptic chap. 37)	{مسیح چشم خود را بجانب آسمان کرده میکفت که ای پدر نزدیک شد که پسرت ترا مشرف سازد}.	{مسیح چشم خود را بجانب اسمان کرده میکفت که ای پدر نزدیک شد که پسرت ترا مشرف سازد}.	{مسیح روی خود را باسمان کرده خطاب بخدای تعالی نموده میکفت که ای پدر نزدیک رسید ساعت باید که تمجید پسر خود را بجای آوری تا آنکه او نیز تمجید ترا بجای آورد}.	{مسیح روی خود را باسمان کرده خطاب بخدای تعالی نموده میکفت که ای پدر نزدیک رسید ساعت باید که تمجید پسر خود را بجای آوری تا آنکه او نیز تمجید ترا بجای آورد}.	{تکلم يسوع بهذا ورفع عينه الى السماء وقال يا ابة قد حضرت الساعة فمجدد ابناك}.
John 18:16-18a (Coptic chap. 39)	{بُطرس بیرون خانه نزدیک در ایستاده بود پس بعضی از شاگردان مسیح که بزرگ کاهنان او را میشناخت خطاب بکنیزی که دربان بود نمود که بطرس را باندرون آنخانه در آور پس آن کنیز خطاب بیطرس نمود که از شاگردان مسیحی بُطرس انکار آن نموده در اندرون آنخانه در آمد و با کاهنان از آتش کرم میکردید}.	{بُطرس بیرون خانه در پیش در ایستاده بود پس بعضی از شاگردان مسیح که رئیس کاهنان انرا می شناخت خطاب بکنیزی که دربان بود نمود که بطرس را داخل این خانه ساز پس او کنیز خطاب به بطرس نمود که از شاگردان این شخصی شاکردان بعد از ان در آنخانه آمده با کاهنان از آتش کرم میکردیدند}.	{بُطرس ایستاده بود بیرون آنخانه در باب پس شاکرد دیگر از مسیح که رئیس کهنه او را می شناخت کهنه که در باب آنخانه بود [..] [..] [..] بطرس را داخل خانه کردان پس [..] او جاریه [..] از بطرس سوال نموده که تو از شاگردان این شخصی بطرس انکار او نمود بعد از ان در آنخانه در آمد و با کهنه ایستاده از آتش ایشان کرم میکردید}.	{بُطرس ایستاده بود در بیرون آن خانه پس شاکرد دیگر از مسیح که رئیس کهنه او را میشناخت بجاریه که بوايه بود خطاب نموده گفت که بطرس را داخل این خانه ساز پس آن جاریه از بطرس سوال نمود که تو از شاگردان این شخصی بطرس انکار او نمود بعد از ان در آن خانه در آمد و با کهنه ایستاده از آتش ایشان کرم میکردید}.	{فاما سمعون فكان واقفاً عند الباب خارجاً فخرج ذلك التلميذ الاخر الذي عظيم الكهنة يعرفه فقال للبوابة وادخل سمعان بطرس فقالت الجارية البوابة لسمعون الصفاء أما انت من تلاميذ هذا الرجل فقال لها لا وكان العبيد والشرط قيامًا يوقدون ناراً ليصطلوا}.

## 6 Tafrishī's Citations from the Roman Arabic Vulgate in Arabic and in His Own Persian Translation

The twenty-eight citations from the four Gospels in Arabic translation are as found in the Medici edition of the Roman Arabic Vulgate and quoted (as well as partially translated into Persian) in Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* according to the Arabic recension preserved in Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 1v-16r, and the Persian recension edited by G. Rashtiyānī.<sup>577</sup> A third of the citations are structured according to the Coptic Chapters with 101 chapters for Matthew, 54 chapters for Mark, 86 chapters for Luke, and 46 chapters for John.<sup>578</sup> The orthographical peculiarities of the Arabic manuscript and the Arabic and Persian printed editions have been retained in the following table:<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> The table below is restricted to authentic quotations from the Gospels, which contain at least one verse. Paraphrases or passages that could not be identified are not included.

<sup>578</sup> For details, see above, Chapter 1.2.

<sup>579</sup> For examples of orthographical peculiarities, see above, Appendix 5.



Gospel verse	Tafriṣhī's <i>Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq</i>	The Roman Arabic Vulgate	
	The Persian recension of the author (edited by G. Rashtiyānī) <sup>580</sup>	The Arabic recension of the author (Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1) <sup>581</sup>	Medici edition <sup>582</sup>
Matt. 3:16-17 (Coptic chap. 5)	{ چون حضرت مسیح علیه السلام بر دست یحیی بن زکریا رسم معمودیه به جا آورد، همان زمان گشوده شدند آسمانها و دید روح الله را، که فرود آمد مانند کبوتری سوی او و برو نشست و ناگاه آوازی از آسمان گوینده که: هذا هوا [کذا] ابني الحبيب الذي به سررت}.	{ فلما اعتمد عيسى اي اغتسل على يد يحيى بن زكريا عليهم السلام صعِد للوقت من الماء وانفتحت السموات وراى روح الله نازلا كمثل حمامة آتيا اليه واذا بصوت من السماء هذا هو ابني الحبيب الذي به سررت}.	{ فلما اعتمد يسوع صعِد للوقت من الماء فانفتحت له السموات وراى روح الله نازلا كمثل حمامة وجاءتيا اليه واذا صوت من السموات قايلا هذا هو ابني الحبيب الذي به سررت}.
Matt. 5:8-9 (Coptic chap. 8)	{ طوبى لسانعى [كذا] السلامات. لانهم ابناى الله يدعون } يعنى { خوشا حال اهل سلامت، پس به درستی که ایشان پسران خدای خوانده میشوند}.	{ طوبى للنتقىة قلوبهم فانهم يعاينون الله طوبى لصانعي السلامة فانهم بنوا الله يدعون}.	{ طوبى للذين قلوبهم نقي فانهم يعاينون الله طوبى لصانعي السلام فانهم ابناى الله يدعون}.
Matt. 5:16 (Coptic chap. 8)	{ فليضئ نوركم قدام الناس لكي يروا اعمالكم الحسنة ويمجدوا اباكم الذى فى السموات } يعنى حضرت مسيح در مقام موعظه، اصحاب خود را گفت، { بايد که بدرخشند نور شما در نزد مردم، پس ميديده باشند اعمال حسنه شما را و تمجيد و تعظيم مى نموده باشند پدر شما را، آنکه در سماوات است}.	{ ليضئ نوركم قدام الناس فيرون اعمالكم الحسنة ويُمجّد اباكم الذي فى السماوات}.	{ فليضي نوركم قدام الناس ليروا اعمالكم الصالحه ويمجدوا اباكم الذي فى السموات}.
Matt. 5:44-45 (Coptic chap. 9)	{ صلوا على من يحزنكم ويطردونكم لكما تكونوا ابناء ابيكم الذى فى السموات المشرق شمسه على الاخير والاشرار } يعنى { دعا كنيد و طلب رحمت نماييد بر هر که شما را اندوهگين مى نموده باشد و از نزد خود مى رانده باشد، تا توانيد که بوده باشيد پسران پدر خود، آنکه در سماوات است آن تابنده آفتاب او بر نيکان و بدان}.	{ صلوا على من يحزنكم ويطردكم لكيما تكونوا ابناء ابيكم الذي فى السموات المشرق شمسه على الاخير والاشرار}.	{ وصلوا على من يطردكم ويغتصبكم لكيما تكونوا بني ابيكم الذي فى السموات الذي يشرق شمسه على الاخير والاشرار}.
Matt. 5:48	{ كونوا انتم كاملين مثل ابيكم السماوى فانه كامل } يعنى { ميپوده باشيد شما کاملان مانند پدر کامل}.	{ كونوا انتم كاملين مثل ابيكم السماوي فهو كامل}.	{ فكونوا انتم كاملين مثل ابيكم السماوي هو كامل}.

<sup>580</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” pp. 1271:3-12; 1272:1-11; 1273:9-1274:5; 1276:8-20; 1276:21-1277:12; 1277:13-1278:7; 1278, n. 10; 1278:11-12; 1278:13-1279:4; 1279:10-1280:4, 6-9; 1331:7-9.

<sup>581</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 11r:14-20; 11v:6-15; 12r:8-17; 13r:3-13v:1; 13v:1-13, 15-21; 14r:4-6; 16r:9-12.

<sup>582</sup> See *al-Injil al-muqaddas*, pp. 10:2-5; 13:2-4; 14:2-3; 16:9-11, 15; 17:2-4, 8-10, 13-14; 17:18-18:1, 4-6; 19:3-5; 20:7-11; 33:8-11; 34:7-10; 47:8-9; 81:12-14; 156:6-9; 195:3-196:7; 209:9; 234:9-10; 235:3-7; 241:11-12; 268:17-269:9; 291:3-4; 297:16-298:11; 322:19-323:10; 339:2; 363:11-364:2.

(Coptic chap. 9)	سماوی شما پس به درستی که او کامل است.}		
Matt. 6:4 (Coptic chap. 9)	{لکن صدقتک فی الخفیة، وأبوك الذی یری فی الخفیة یجازیک علانیة} یعنی {باید که صدقه دادن تو در خفیة باشد، و پدر تو که می بیند او را در خفیة، تلافی او با تو می کند آشکارا}.	{لکن صدقتک فی خفیة وابوک الذی یری فی الخفیة یجازیک علانیة}.	{لکی تکن صدقتک فی الخفآء وابوک الذی یری ما فی الخفآء یجزیک علانیة}.
Matt. 6:6 (Coptic chap. 10)	{اذا صلیت ادخل علی مخدعک واغلق بابک وصل لأبیک سرا وابوک الذی یری فی السر یجازیک علانیة} یعنی {چون تو خواهی نماز بگذاری پس به خلوت خود درآی، و در بیند و نماز کن پدر خود را پنهانی و پدر تو - آنکه می بیند در پنهان - پاداش عمل تو می دهد آشکارا}.	{اذا صلیت ادخل الی مخدعک واغلق بابک وصل لأبیک سرآ وابوک الذی یری فی السر یجازیک علانیة}.	{اذا صلیت فادخل الی مخدعک واغلق بابک علیک وصل لأبیک سرآ وابوک الذی یری السر یعطیک علانیة}.
Matt. 6:9 (Coptic chap. 10)	{هكذا اصلوا [و قولوا یا] ابانا الذی فی السموات تقدس اسمک} یعنی {این روش نماز بگذارید و بگوئید ای پدر ما! [ای] آنکه در سمواتی، پاک و منزه است نام تو!}.	{هكذا صلوا ابانا الذی فی السموات تقدس اسمک}.	{فهكذا تصلوا انتم ابونا الذی فی السموات لیتقدس اسمک}.
Matt. 6:14-15 (Coptic chap. 10)	{ان غفرتم الناس الخطایهم [كذا] غفر لكم ابوک السماوی وان لم تغفر للناس سیئاتهم فلا ابوک یترک لكم خطایکم} یعنی {بیامرزید شما، گناهای را که مردم نسب شما کنند؛ خواهد آمرزید شما را پدر آسمانی شما. و اگر نیامرزید شما، سیئات مردم را، پس پدر شما نیز و نخواهد گذاشت خطاهای شما را}.	{ان غفرتم للناس خطایهم غفر لكم ابوک السماوی وان لم تغفروا للناس سیئاتهم فلا ابوک یترک لكم خطایکم}.	{فان غفرتم للناس خطایهم یغفر لكم ابوک السماوی خطایکم وان لم تغفروا للناس خطایهم لم یغفر لكم ابوک خطایکم}.
Matt. 6:17-18 (Coptic chap. 10)	{انت اذا صمت ادهن راسک واغسل وجهک لیلا یظهر للناس صیامک لکن لا بیک عالم السر هو یجازیک علانیة} یعنی {تو هر گاه روزه بداری روغن بمال سر خود را، و بشوی روی خود را تا ظاهر نشود برای مردم روزه داشتن تو. لکن ظاهر شود برای پدر تو دانای سر، و پاداش می دهد تو را آشکارا}.	{انت اذا صمت ادهن راسک واغسل وجهک لیلا یظهر للناس صیامک لکن لا بیک عالم السر هو یجازیک علانیة}.	{وانت اذا صمت ادهن راسک واغسل وجهک لیلا یظهر للناس صیامک لکن لا بیک الذی فی السر وابوک الذی ینظر السر یجازیک علانیة}.
Matt. 6:26 (Coptic chap. 12)	{انظروا الی طیور السماء التي لا تزرع ولا تحصد ولا تحزن [كذا] فی الأهرآء وابوک السماوی یقوتها الیس انتم افضل} یعنی {نگاه کنید به مرغان هوا که زراعتی و درودنی نمی نمایند و ذخیره در انبارهایی نمی نهند و پدر آسمانی شما روزی می دهد ایشان را. آیا شما نیستید بهتر از ایشان؟}.	{انظروا الی طیور السماء التي لا تزرع ولا تحصد ولا تحزن فی الأهرآء وابوک السماوی یقوتها الیس انتم افضل}.	{انظروا الی طیور السماء التي لا تزرع ولا تحصد ولا تحزن فی الأهرآء وابوک السماوی یقوتها الیس انتم بالحری افضل}.
Matt. 7:10-11	{ای انسان منکم یسأله ابنه خیرآ فیعطیه حجرا ویسأله سمکه فیعطیه حیة فان [كذا] کتم انتم الاشرار تعرفون ان	{ای انسان منکم یسأله ابنه خیرآ فیعطیه حجرا او یسأله سمکه فیعطیه حیة فاذا کتم انتم الاشرار تعرفون ان	{ای انسان منکم یسأله ابنه خیرآ لعلّه یعطیه حجرا او یسأله سمکه فیعطیه حیة فان کتم انتم

(Coptic chap. 13)	آن [كذا] تمنحوا العطايا الصالحة لابنايكم، كلم ما بالاخرى [كذا] ابوكم الذي في السموات يعطي الخيرات للذين يسألونه.	تعطوا العطايا الصالحة فكم بالاخرى ابوكم الذي في السموات يعطي الخيرات.	الاشرار قد تعرفون ان تمنحوا العطايا الصالحة لابنايكم فكم بالبحري ابوكم الذي في السموات يعطي الخيرات للذين يسألونه.
Matt. 10:19-20 (Coptic chap. 27)		{اذا اسلموكم فلا تهتموا بماذا تقولون فانكم تعطون في تلك الساعة ما تتكلمون به ولستم انتم المتكلمون [كذا] لكن روح ابيكم الذي يتكلم فيكم}.	{واذا اسلموكم فلا تهتموا كيف او بماذا تقولون فانكم تعطون في تلك الساعة ماذا تتكلمون به لان لستم انتم المتكلمين لكن روح ابيكم الذي يتكلم فيكم}.
Matt. 10:29-31 (Coptic chap. 28)		{ليس عصفور واحد يباع بفلس واحد ومنهما لا يسقط على الارض دون ارادة ابيكم الذي في السموات وانتم، شعور رؤسكم [كذا] محصاة فلا تخافوا فانكم افضل من العصافير كثيرا}.	{ليس عصفوران قد يباعان بفلس واحد ومنهما لا يسقط على الارض دون ارادة ابيكم فشعور رؤسكم كلها محصاة فلا تخافوا اذا انتم فانكم افضل من عصافير كثيرة}.
Matt. 13:43 (Coptic chap. 39)		{يضئ الصديقون مثل الشمس في ملكوت ابيهم من له اذن سامعة فليسمع}.	{تضي الصديقون مثل الشمس في ملكوت ابيهم من له اذان سامعتان فليسمع}.
Matt. 23:8-9 (Coptic chap. 76)		{انتم جميعا اخوة لا تدعوا [كذا] لكم ابا في الارض فان اباكم واحد وهو الذي في السموات}.	{وانتم جميعا اخوة ولا تدعوا لكم ابا على الأرض فان اباكم واحد هو الذي في السموات}.
Mark 11:25 (Coptic chap. 36)		{اذا قمتم تصلوا فاتركوا ما كان لكم على احد لكيما ابوكم السماوي يترك لكم هفواتكم وان انتم لا تتركون ابوكم السماوي لا يترك لكم عثراتكم}.	{واذا قمتم تصلون اغفروا لكل من لكم عليه لكيما يترك لكم ابوكم الذي في السموات هفواتكم وان لم تتركوا ولا ابوكم السماوي يترك لكم خطاياكم}.
Luke 3:23-38 (Coptic chap. 10)	{مردم گمان ميبرند مسيح را كه او پسر يوسف است}، و نسبت يوسف مذکور را پدر بر پدر مذکور ساخته تا آنکه رسائیده به آدم {و در حق آدم گفته که ابن الله [است]}.	{كان يظنّ انه ابن يوسف} ابن فلان ابن فلان ابن فلان وهكذا فصاعدا الى ان قال {ابن آدم ابن الله}.	{وكان يظن انه ابن يوسف} {...}، {بن ادم الذي من الله}.
Luke 6:36 (Coptic chap. 20)	{كونوا انتم متحنين مثل ابيكم السماوي ولانه رؤوف [كذا] هو}. يعنى {مى بوده باشيد رحيم دل، مانند پدر آسمانى شما، زیرا که او رحيم و مهربانست}.	{كونوا متحنين كمثلى ابيكم لانه رؤوف [كذا] هو}.	{وكونوا رحماء مثل ابيكم الرؤوف}.
Luke 11:2 (Coptic chap. 11)	{اذا صليتم فقولوا هكذا ابانا الذى في السموات تقدس اسمك}. يعنى {چون نماز بگزاريد، پس چنين بگوئيد: اى پدر ما! اى آنکه در سمواتي!}	{اذا صليتم فقولوا هكذا ابانا الذي في السموات تقدس اسمك}.	{اذا صليتم فقولوا ابانا الذي في السموات يتقدس اسمك}.

چاپ. پاک و منزه است نام تو!}.

42)

Luke 11:11-13 (Coptic chap. 42)	}ای منکم یسأله ابنه خبزاً فیدفع له حجراً ویسأله سمکة فیدفع له حیه بدل السمکة او یسأله بیضه فیعطیه عقرباً فاذا کنتم انتم الاشرار تحسنون ان تمنحوا انباؤکم [کذا] العطايا الصالحة فکم بالآخری [کذا] ابوکم السماوی یعطی روح القدس للذین یسألونه} یعنی {کدام است از شما که چون فرزند او نانی طلبید، پس او سنگی بدهد فرزند خود را. یا اگر ماهی طلبید او مار در عوض ماهی بدهد او را. یا اگر تخم مرغ طلبید او عقربی به جای آن بدهد پس هر گاه شما بدکاران نیکو دانید که فرزندان خود را بخششهای شایسته کنید. پس چه قدرها لایقتر و سزاوارتر باشد پدر آسمانی شما! به اینکه عطا کند روح پاک به جمعی که از آن آن را طلب کنند}.	}ای منکم یسأله ابنه خبزة فیدفع له حجراً او یسأله سمکة فیدفع له حیة بدل السمکة او یسأله بیضه فیعطیه عقرباً فاذا کنتم انتم الاشرار تحسنون ان تمنحوا انباؤکم العطايا الصالحة فکم بالاحری ابوکم السماوی یعطی روح القدس للذین یسألونه}.	}فایّ أب منکم یسأله ابنه خبزاً فیدفع الیه حجراً او یسأله حوتاً فیدفع الیه حیة بدل الحوت او یسأله بیضه فیعطیه عقرباً فاذا کنتم انتم ایها الاشرار تحسنون ان تمنحوا انباکم العطايا الصالحة فکم بالبحری ابوکم السماوی یعطی روح القدس للذین یسألونه}.
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Luke 12:32 (Coptic chap. 49)	}لا تخف ایها القطیع الصغیر قد شاء ابوکم ان یعطیکم الملکوت} یعنی {مترسید ای طایفه اندک! به تحقیق که خواسته است پدر شما، اینکه عطا کند شما را ملکوت}.	}لا تخف ایها القطیع الصغیر قد شاء ابوکم ان یعطیکم الملکوت}.	}لا تخف ایها القطیع الصغیر فان اباکم قد سرّ ان یعطیکم الملکوت}.
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Luke 20:27-36 (Coptic chap. 72)	}آمدند به نزد حضرت عیسی قومی از زنادقه که قائل به قیامت نمی باشند، پس سؤال کردند و گفتند: ای استاد! برای ما موسی نوشته و قرار داده که هر گاه انسانی بمیرد او را فرزندی نباشد پس برادر میت، زن او را بگیرد و برای برادر خود زراعتی نماید. و نزد ما هفت برادر بودند برادر اول زنی خواست و بی فرزند بمرد و پس برادر ثانی، زن او را گرفت و او نیز بی فرزند بمرد و هم چنین برادر سوم تا برادر هفتم، همه آن زن را گرفتند و همه بیفرزند مردند و بعد از همه، آن زن نیز بمرد. پس ازین، در قیامت آن زن کدام یک را خواهد بود؟ و چون هر هفت او را، زن کرده بودند. پس گفت ایشان را مسیح که: اما [ای] پسران! [در] این روزگار زن به ایشان داده می شود و ایشان زن میگیرند، و اما، [به] آنانی که سزاوار آن روزگار و بر خواستن از مردگانند، پس به ایشان زن داده نمی شود، ایشان زنی نمی گیرند و ایشان بعد از آن نمی توانند مرد، زیرا که ایشان مانند ملائکه	}جاء الیه ای الی عیسی علیه السلام قوم من الزنادقة الذین یقولون لیس قیمة وسألوه وقالوا له یا معلّم موسی کتب لنا ان مات اخو انسان وله امرأة وولیداً فلیأخذ اخوه امرأته ویقیم زرعاً لأخیه وكان عندنا سبعة اخوة تزوّج الاول امرأة ومات بغير ولد والثانی تزوج بها ومات بغير ولد والثالث اخذها مثلهما وكذلك الی السابع ولم یتروکوا ولداً وفي آخر الكلّ ماتت المرأة ففي القيمة [کذا] لمن تكون منهم المرأة لأنّ السبعة اتّخذوها فقال لهم یسوع أمّا بنوا هذا الدهر یتزوّجون ویتزوّجون وأمّا اولئک الذین استحَقّوا ذلك الدهر والقیام من الاموات فلا یتزوّجون ولا یستطیعون بعد یموتون مثل الملائکة بنوا الله لأنّهم بنوا القيمة [کذا]}.	}وجاء الیه قوم من الزنادقة الذین یقولون لیس قیامة وسألوه وقالوا له یا معلّم موسی کتب لنا ان مات اخو انسان وله امرأة وولیداً فلیأخذ اخوه امرأته ویقیم زرعاً لأخیه وكان عندنا سبعة اخوة تزوج الاول امرأة [کذا] ومات بغير ولد والثانی تزوج بها ومات بغير ولد والثالث اخذها مثلهما وكذلك الی السابع ولم یتروکوا ولداً وماتوا وفي اخر الكلّ ماتت المرأة ففي القیامة لمن منهم تكون امرأة لان السبعة قد تزوجوها فقال لهم یسوع أمّا بنوا هذا الدهر فیتزوّجون ویتزوّجون فأمّا اولیک الذین استحَقّوا ذلك الدهر والقیامة من الاموات لا یتزوّجون ولا یتزوّجون لانهم لا یموتون بل یصیرون مثل الملائکة ویصیرون بنی الله وبنی القیامة}.
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	پسران خداوند، زیرا که ایشان پسران قیامتند}.		
John 1:12 (Coptic chap. 1)	{الذین قبلوه اعطاهم سلطان ان یكونوا ابناء الله} یعنی {جماعتی که قبول کردند حضرت مسیح را، داده است به ایشان قدرت و توانایی آنکه بوده باشند پسران خدای تعالی}.	{الذین قبلوه اعطاهم سلطان ان یكونوا ابناء الله}.	{الذین قبلوه فاعطاهم سلطاناً ان یصیروا بنی الله}.
John 3:3-12 (Coptic chap. 7)	{آنچه حق است! می گویم تو را، هر که نزاده باشد، به زادن دوباره نمی تواند که مر ببیند ملک الهی را. پس گفت نیکودیموس: چگونه می تواند بود مردی که پیر شده از مادر بزاید؟ مگر تواند که به شکم مادر خود در شود دوباره بعد از آن بزاید؟ جواب داد حضرت مسیح و گفت: آنچه حق است! [آنچه حق است] می گویم شما را. به درستی که، هر که نزاید از اب و روح نمی تواند که داخل ملکوت الهی شود. به درستی که مولود از گوشت، گوشت است و مولود از روح، روح است. تعجب مکن از آنکه من می گویم ترا، که البته سزاوار شما را آن است که بزائید دفعه دیگر؟ زیرا که روح هر جا دوست داشت می وزد و آوازش را می شنوی [و] تو میدانی که از کجا می آید و به کجا می رود؟ و همچنین است هر که او مولود از روح است. جواب داد نیکودیموس، و گفت: چگونه می تواند بود این؟ جواب داد و مسیح گفت: تو معلم و استاد بنی اسرائیلی، و این را نمی دانی، آنچه حق است! آنچه حق است! می گویم شما را، به درستی که همان چیزی را که می دانیم به آن متکلم می شویم و هر آن چیزی را که دیده‌ایم بر آن شهادت می دهیم، و شهادت ما را قبول نمی کنید. هر گاه من از ارضیات برای شما گویم و شما تصدیق نکنید؛ پس چگونه باشد گاهی که برای شما از سماویات گویم؟}.	{الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك من لم یولد ولادة ثانية لیس یستطیع ان یصر ملك الله فقال نیکودیموس کیف یمكن ان یولد رجل شیخ لعلّه یقدر ان یدخل بطن امّه مرّة ثانية ویولد اجاب یسوع وقال له الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك ان من لم یولد من الماء والروح لن یقدر ان یدخل ملكوت الله ان المولود من اللحم لحم هو والمولود من الروح روح لا تتعجب من قولی لك انه ینبغی لك ان تلدوا [كذا] دفعة ثانية لانّ الروح حیثما احبّ وهبّ وصوته تسمع انك لست تعلم من این یأتي والی این یدهب هكذا هو كلّ مولود من الروح اجاب وقال نیکودیموس کیف یمكن هذا اجاب یسوع وقال له انت معلّم اسرائیل ولا تعلم هذا الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك انّ الذی نعرف نتكلّم وما قد رایناه نشهد وشهادتنا ما تقبلون ان كنت قلت لكم الارضیات فلم تصدّقوا فكیف اذا قلت لكم السمویات}.	{الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك انه من لم یولد من ذی قبل لن یقدر ان یراین ملكوت الله قال له نیکودیموس کیف یمكن ان یولد رجل شیخ العله یقدر ان یریح بطن امّه ثانية ویولد اجاب یسوع وقال له الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك ان من لم یولد من الماء والروح لن یقدر ان یدخل ملكوت الله ان المولود من الجسد جسد هو والمولود من الروح فهو روح لا تعجب من قولی لك انه ینبغی لك ان تولدوا من ذی قبل الروح یهبّ حیث یشاء وتسمع صوته الا انك لیس تعلم من این یاتی ولا الی این یدهب هكذا كل مولود من الروح اجاب نیکودیموس وقال کیف یمكن ان یكون هذا اجاب یسوع وقال له انت معلم اسرائیل ولا تعلم هذا الحقّ الحقّ اقول لك انا انما نطق بما نعلم ونشهد بما رأینا ولستم تقبلون شهادتنا اذ كنت اعلمتكم الارضیات ولستم تومنون فكیف ان قلت لكم السماویات [كذا]}.
John 8:39-44 (Coptic chap. 21)	{گفت حضرت مسیح مر یهود را، [اگر] که می بودید شما پسران حضرت ابراهیم، می کردید کارهایی را که حضرت ابراهیم می کرد؟ اما حالا شما در پی کشتن منید؛ من که سخن می گویم با شما به سخن حقی که شنیده‌ام آن را از خدای، و ابراهیم چنین کاری نکرد شما کردارهای پدر خود را می کنید. ایشان گفتند ما خود از زنا به هم [نرسیده‌ایم] و جز این نیست که ما همگی	{قال لهم یسوع ای قال عیسی لیهود لو كنتم بنی ابراهیم كنتم تعملون اعمال ابراهیم لكنكم الآن تطلبون قتلی انا كلمتكم بالحقّ الذی سمعته من الله ولم یفعل ابراهیم هذا انتم تعملون اعمال اییكم قالوا له نحن ما من زنا صرنا وانما لنا ابا واحدا [كذا] وهو الله قالهم لو كان الله اباكم كنتم تحبّون لاني خرجت من الله وجئت ولم آت من عندي بل هو ارسلني	{قال لهم یسوع لو كنتم بنی ابراهیم كنتم تعملون اعمال ابراهیم لكنكم الان تطلبون قتلی انسان كلمتكم بالحقّ الذی سمعته من الله ولم یفعل ابراهیم هذا انتم تعملون اعمال اییكم فقالوا له اما نحن فلسنا مولودین من زنا وانما لنا اب واحد هو الله قال لهم یسوع لو كان الله اباكم كنتم تحبون لاني خرجت من الله وجیت ولم ات

<p>من عندي بل هو ارسلني من اجل هذا لستم تفهمون قولي لانكم لا تستطيعون ان تسمعوا كلامي انتم من ايكم ابليس وشهوة ايكم تهوون ان تعملوا ذلك الذي هو من البد قتال للناس ولن يثبت على الحق لانه ليس فيه حق}.</p>	<p>من اجل هذا لستم تفهمون قولي لانكم ما تطبقون استماع كلمتي انتم من ايكم الشيطان وشهوة ايكم تريدون ان تعملوا ذلك الذي هو من البدوء [كذا] قتال للناس ليس يثبت على الحق لانه ليس فيه حق}.</p>	<p>را يك پدر است و آن خدای است سبحانه. مسیح گفت ایشان را اگر الله تعالی پدر شما می بود، بایستی که شما مرا دوست بدارید، برای آنکه من از خدای بر آمده و سوی شما آمدهام و از جانب خود نیامدهام، بلکه او مرا فرستاده؛ از این جهت است که شما سخن من فهم نمی کنید و تاب شنیدن سخن من ندارید. شما از پدر خود، [یعنی] شیطانید و جویای آنید که خواهش پدر خود را به جا آورید، آن ناکسی که از آغاز کار کشنده مردمانست، نمی ایستد بر حق، برای آنکه حقی درو نیست}.</p>
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<p>John 12:36 (Coptic chap. 29)</p>	<p>{آمنوا بالنور لتكونوا بني النور}.</p>	<p>{آمنوا بالنور لتكونوا ابنا النور}.</p>	
<p>John 20:17 (Coptic chap. 43)</p>	<p>{قال لها يسوع لا [يقربني] فاني لم اصعد بعد الى ابي لكن امضي الى اخوتي وقولي لهم اني صاعد الى ابي وايكم والهي والهكم} يعني گفت حضرت عیسی، در حالی که بعد از صلب و دفن از قبر بیرون آمده بود و زنی او را شناخت، و خواست که نزدیک آن حضرت رود. {[مسیح به او خطاب کرد] و گفت: ای زن! نزدیک من میای که من هنوز به سوی پدر صعود نکردهام، اما برو نزد برادران من بگوی ایشان را که من صعود کنندهام به سوی پدر من و پدر شما و اله من و اله شما}.</p>	<p>{قال لنا يسوع لا تقربني فاني لم اصعد بعد الى ابي لكن امضي الى اخوتي وقولي لهم اني صاعد الى ابي وايكم والهي والهكم}.</p>	<p>{قال لها يسوع لا تلمسيني لاني لم اصعد بعد الى ابي امضي الى اخوتي وقولي لهم اني صاعد الى ابي وايكم والهي والهكم}.</p>

## 7 Tafrishī's Citations from the Septuagint Psalms and Odes in Arabic and in His Own Persian Translation

The eleven citations from the Septuagint Psalms and Odes (Deuteronomy) in Arabic translation are as found in the Byzantine lectionary Tehran, Millī, MS 981 and quoted (as well as partially translated into Persian) in Tafrishī's *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* according to the Arabic recension preserved in Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 1v-16r, and the Persian recension edited by G. Rashtiyānī. The orthographical peculiarities of the Arabic manuscripts and the Persian printed edition have been retained in the following table:<sup>583</sup>

Psalm or Ode verse	Tafrishī's <i>Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq</i>		The Septuagint Psalter and Odes in Arabic
	The Persian recension of the author (edited by G. Rashtiyānī) <sup>584</sup>	The Arabic recension of the author (Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1) <sup>585</sup>	Tehran, Millī, MS 981 <sup>586</sup>
Ps. 4:7b	{یا رب بنور وجهک ارتسم علینا نور وجهک یا رب}.	{ارتسم علینا نور وجهک یا رب}.	{وَقَدْ ارْتَسَمَ عَلَيْنَا نُورَ وَجْهِكَ يَا رَبُّ}.
Ps. 18[19]:2	{السموات تذیع مجد الهیه والفلک یخبر ب صنع یدیه} . یعنی {آسمان‌ها فاش می کنند بزرگواری او را، و فلک خبر می دهد از صنعت دستان او} .	{السموات تذیع مجد الله والفلک یخبر ب صنع یدیه} .	{السَّمَوَاتُ تَذِيعُ مَجْدِ اللَّهِ وَالْفَلَكَ يُخْبِرُ بِأَعْمَالِ يَدَيْهِ} .
Ps. 28[29]:1a	{قدموا الرب یا ابناء الله} یعنی {مقدم دارید پروردگار را، ای پسران خدای} .	{قدموا للرب یا ابناء الله} .	{قَدِّمُوا لِلرَّبِّ يَا بَنِي اللَّهِ} .
Ps. 32[33]:6	{بکلمه الرب تشددت السموات وبروح فيه كل قواتها} . یعنی {به	{بکلمه الرب تشددت السموات	{بِكَلِمَةِ الرَّبِّ تَشَدَّدَتِ السَّمَوَاتُ

<sup>583</sup> For examples of orthographical peculiarities, see above, Appendix 5.

<sup>584</sup> See Rashtiyānī, “*Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*,” pp. 1281:2-8; 1281:10-1282:5; 1329:9-10; 1330:1-2; 1331:1-3, 5-6.

<sup>585</sup> See Saint Petersburg, NLR, MS Dorn 244/1, fols 14r:7-14; 15r:17; 15v:3, 21-22; 16r:2-3.

<sup>586</sup> See Tehran, Millī, MS 981, pp. 8:2-3; 51:4; 80:6; 94:4-5; 274:6-275:2; 276:6-7; 277:5-7; 278:5; 477:5-478:1; 480:5-6; 486:5-6.

وَيَبْرُحُ فَاهُ كُلُّ قُوَاتِهَا}.

ویروح فم کل قوآتها}.

کلمه پروردگار محکمی و استواری یافتند آسمان‌ها به روح دهان اوست همه قوت‌های سموات}.

Ps. 88[89]:6-7	<p>{اعترفت السموات بعجايبك يا رب وايضًا بحقك في مجامع القديسين لان من في السماء يساوي الرب او من يتشبه بالرب في ابناء الله} يعني {اقرار آورد آسمان را به عجایب قدرت تو ای پروردگار من، و نیز به حق تو در انجمن پاکان؛ زیرا که کیست در آسمان که برابری کند با پروردگار یا کیست که ماندگی و مشابهت جوید پروردگار در میان پسران خدای}.</p>	<p>{اعترفت السموات بعجايبك يا رب وايضًا بحقك في مجامع القديسين لان من في السماء يساوي الرب او من يتشبه بالرب في ابناء الله}.</p>	<p>{أَعْتَرَفَتِ السَّمَوَاتُ بَعَجَائِبِكَ يَا رَبَّ وَأَيْضًا بِحَقِّكَ فِي مَجْمَعِ الْقَدِيسِينَ لِأَنَّ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاءِ يَسَاوِي الرَّبَّ أَوْ مِنْ [كنا] يَتَشَبَّهُ بِالرَّبِّ فِي أَبْنَاءِ اللَّهِ}.</p>
Ps. 88[89]:16b	<p>{يا رب بنور وجهك يسلكون}.</p>	<p>{يا رب بنور وجهك يسلكون}.</p>	<p>{يَا رَبُّ بِنُورِ وَجْهِكَ يَسْلُكُونَ}.</p>
Ps. 88[89]:21-22	<p>{وجدت داود عبدي مسحته بزيتي المقدس يدي تعضده وساعدي يقويه}.</p>	<p>{وجدت داود عبدي فمسحته بدهن قدسي لان يدي تعضده وساعده يقويه}.</p>	<p>{وَوَجَدْتُ دَاوُدَ عَبْدِي فَمَسَحْتُهُ بِدُهْنٍ قُدْسِي لِأَنَّ يَدَيَّ تُعْضِدُهُ وَسَاعِدِي يُقْوِيهِ}.</p>
Ps. 88[89]:27	<p>{انت هو ابي الهي وناصر خلاصي}. يعني {تویی! پدر من خدای من! و یاری بخش رستگاری من}.</p>	<p>{انت هو ابي الهي وناصر خلاصي}.</p>	<p>{أَنْتَ هُوَ أَبِي إِلَهِي وَنَاصِرٍ خَلَّاصِي}.</p>
Ode 2:6 [=Deut. 32:6]	<p>{ايها الولاد الانجاس الحيل الاعوج الملتوي ايهذا تكافون الرب هذا شعب واحمقى؟ وليس بحكم هذا ابوك الذي اقتناك وصنعك وجبلك}. يعني {ای فرزندان ناپاک و گروه کج نهاد از راستی پیچیده! آیا به این روش تلافی حقوق پروردگار می کنید؟ این گروهی احمقند و [نیستند] اهل دانش. آیا این نیست پدر تو، آنچنان پدری که تو را فراهم آورده و ساخته و سرشته [تو را]؟}.</p>	<p>{ايها الاولاد الانجاس الجيل الاعوج الملتوي بهذا تكافون الرب هذا شعب احمق وليس بحكيم اليس هذا ابوك الذي اقتناك وصنعك وجبلك}.</p>	<p>{أَيُّهَا الْأَوْلَادُ الْأَنْجَاسُ الْجِيلِ الْأَعْوَجِ الْمَلْتَوِي بِهَذَا تَكَاْفُوا الرَّبَّ هَذَا شَعْبٌ أَحْمَقٌ وَلَيْسَ بِحَكِيمٍ أَلَيْسَ هَذَا هُوَ أَبُوكَ الَّذِي اقْتَنَاكَ وَصَنَعَكَ وَجَبَّلَكَ}.</p>
Ode 2:18 [=Deut. 32:18]	<p>{تركت الله الذي ولدك رفضته ونسيت الله الذي عالك} يعني {واگذاشته ای خدای را که تو را زاده و فراموش کرده‌ای خدایی را، که تو را روزی و پرورش داده}.</p>	<p>{تركت الله الذي ولدك ونسيت الله الذي غذاك}.</p>	<p>{تَرَكْتَ اللَّهَ الَّذِي وُلِدَكَ [كنا] وَنَسَيْتَ اللَّهَ الَّذِي غَذَّاكَ}.</p>
Ode 2:43c-d [=Deut. 32:43c-d]	<p>{افرحوا أيها الأمم مع شعبه وليتقوا به جميع ملائكة الله}. يعني {شاد باشید! ای طوایف مردم با گروه او و قوی دل به او و به همه پسران خدای}.</p>	<p>{افرحوا ايها الأمم مع شعبه وليتقوا به جميع ابناء الله}.</p>	<p>{افرحوا به أيها الأمم مع شعبه وليتقوا به جميع أبناء الله}.</p>



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## Abstract

The present study explores the biblical sources used by Imāmī (Twelver Shīʿī) scholars in Safavid Persia during the seventeenth century and the cross-cultural effects of a medieval Arabic translation of the Gospels made by Middle Eastern Christians. Drawing upon ninety-nine mostly unexplored manuscripts in Arabic and Persian preserved in libraries in Iran, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as archival material in various European languages, I contend that the influence of Arabic Bible translations was not confined to Arabic-speaking lands, but also extended to Persianate societies where they radically transformed the encounter and interchange between religious representatives.

The principal source of Shīʿī scholars, in particular Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650), Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn Tafrishī (d. before 1114/1702), and Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī (d. 1127/1715), for studying, translating, and refuting the Gospels is identified in this dissertation as the Arabic Vulgate, also known as the ‘Alexandrian Vulgate’ or the ‘Egyptian Vulgate’. A revision of this Arabic translation of the four Gospels, which is based upon earlier versions of the Gospels circulating in the Coptic and Syriac communities during the Middle Islamic period, was printed in the late sixteenth century by the Medici Oriental Press in Rome with the authorization of the Vatican’s Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books. What I call the Roman Arabic Vulgate was the first printing of the Gospels in the Arabic language ever made.

More than four centuries after its publication, the *Vorlage* for the Roman Arabic Vulgate has been ascribed by me after careful study to a manuscript of Coptic provenance from a monastery in Wādī al-Naṭrūn (ancient Scetis), dated to the mid-fourteenth century.

This dissertation further examines the history of the Medici edition as reflecting an interplay between an increasing interest in Arabic versions of the sacred Scriptures of the Christians in the post-humanist era, the emergence of a European printing culture in Arabic, and a strong Catholic missionary movement. Friars of the religious orders disseminated printed copies of the Roman Arabic Vulgate throughout the Middle East as well as in the Indo-Persian world and relied on them as a pioneering instrument for the evangelization of Muslims and of non-Catholics living in Islamicate societies.

In contrast to translations of biblical books into ‘Standard (New) Persian’ from pre-Safavid times, the Arabic Vulgate transcended the cultural-religious boundaries of the Middle Eastern Christian communities in the context of a universalistic Catholic mission. I argue that the availability and accessibility of the Gospels printed in the Arabic language gave rise to a large Imāmī reception of the Bible, as evidenced in some of the earliest known anti-Christian polemical works in Persian, as well as a Persian translation of the Gospels made from the Roman Arabic Vulgate that was commissioned by the shāh. As a result, Shī‘ī scholars were able to draw upon a broader array of biblical verses than the repertoire commonly invoked by Muslim polemicists against Christianity. The influence of the Medici edition of the Arabic Vulgate on Shī‘ī-Catholic disputations and intellectual exchanges in Iran appears unparalleled in the reception history of Arabic Bible translations.

This study attempts to supply a *desideratum* in the history of the Muslim perception of the sacred Christian Scriptures in the age of Arabic Bible printing. It will therefore be of significant interest to scholars of various disciplines, in particular Islamic studies, Iranian studies, and the history of Christianity and missiology, as well as of singular pertinence to

those working in the fields of Renaissance studies, Arabic manuscript studies, book history and the cultural history of the Middle East in a broader and more comprehensive sense.

## Abstract in German Translation

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht die biblischen Quellen, die imāmitische (zwölferschiitische) Gelehrte im safawidischen Persien des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts heranzogen, sowie die kulturübergreifenden Wirkungen einer mittelalterlichen arabischen Übersetzung der Evangelien, die von nahöstlichen Christen stammt. Sie stützt sich auf neunundneunzig meist unerschlossene arabische und persische Handschriften, die in Bibliotheken in Iran, dem Nahen Osten und Europa erhalten sind, wie auch auf Archivmaterial in verschiedenen europäischen Sprachen. Meine These lautet, dass der Einfluss arabischer Bibelübersetzungen nicht auf arabischsprachige Lande beschränkt war, sondern sich ebenso auf von der persischen Kultur geprägte Gesellschaften erstreckte, in denen diese Übersetzungen die Begegnung und den Austausch zwischen den Religionsvertretern wesentlich prägten.

Die Hauptquelle schiitischer Gelehrter, insbesondere Sayyid Aḥmad °Alavīs (st. zwischen 1054/1644 und 1060/1650), Ṣahīr al-Dīn Tafrishīs (st. vor 1114/1702) und Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādīs (st. 1127/1715), für Studium, Übersetzung und Widerlegung der Evangelien wird in dieser Dissertation als die arabische Vulgata identifiziert, die auch als ‚alexandrinische Vulgata‘ oder ‚ägyptische Vulgata‘ bekannt ist. Eine Überarbeitung dieser arabischen Übersetzung der vier Evangelien, die auf früheren Textfassungen beruht, die in der mittleren islamischen Ära in koptischen und syrischen Gemeinden in Umlauf waren, wurde im ausgehenden sechzehnten Jahrhundert in Rom von der *Typographia Medicea Orientale* mit Erlaubnis der vatikanischen Indexkongregation gedruckt. Was hier als



römische arabische Vulgata bezeichnet wird war der erste Druck der Evangelien in arabischer Sprache überhaupt.

Mehr als vierhundert Jahre nach Drucklegung war es mir nach intensiven Recherchen möglich, die Vorlage der römischen arabischen Vulgata auf eine Handschrift koptischer Provenienz zurückzuführen, die Mitte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in einem Kloster im Wādī al-Naṭrūn (in der sketischen Wüste) angefertigt wurde. Die vorliegende Dissertation untersucht weiterhin die Geschichte der Medici-Ausgabe der römischen arabischen Vulgata als ein Zusammenspiel zwischen einem wachsenden Interesse an arabischen Textfassungen der Heiligen Schrift der Christen in der posthumanistischen Ära, dem Aufkommen einer arabischen Druckkultur in Europa und einer starken katholischen Missionsbewegung. Mitglieder religiöser Orden verbreiteten Druckexemplare der römischen arabischen Vulgata im Nahen Osten sowie im indo-persischen Raum und setzten sie als Pionierwerkzeug für die Evangelisierung von Muslimen und Nichtkatholiken in vom Islam geprägten Gesellschaften ein.

Im Gegensatz zu Übersetzungen biblischer Bücher ins ‚Standard-(Neu)Persische‘ aus vorsafawidischer Zeit überschritt die arabische Vulgata im Kontext einer universalistischen katholischen Mission die kulturellen und religiösen Grenzen der nahöstlichen christlichen Gemeinschaften. Ich vertrete die Auffassung, dass die Verfügbarkeit und die Zugänglichkeit der auf Arabisch gedruckten Evangelien zu einer umfangreichen imāmitischen Rezeption der Bibel führten, wie anhand einiger der frühesten bekannten, auf Persisch verfassten anti-christlichen Polemiken sowie einer persischen Übersetzung der Evangelien, die im Auftrag des Schāhs auf Grundlage der römischen arabischen Vulgata angefertigt wurde, deutlich wird. Infolgedessen konnten sich schiitische Gelehrte auf eine weitaus größere Zahl

biblicher Verse berufen als das Repertoire, auf das sich Autoren muslimischer Polemiken gegen das Christentum für gewöhnlich stützen.

Die vorliegende Studie unternimmt den Versuch, ein Desiderat in der Geschichte der muslimischen Perzeption der Heiligen Schrift der Christen im Zeitalter des arabischen Bibeldrucks zu schließen. Sie wird deshalb von großem Interesse sein für Vertreter/innen verschiedener Disziplinen, vor allem der Islamwissenschaft, der Iranistik und der Kirchen- und Missionsgeschichte, sowie von besonderer Relevanz sein für alle, die auf dem Gebiet der Renaissance-Studien, der arabischen Handschriftenkunde, der Buchgeschichte und der Kulturgeschichte des Nahen Osten im Allgemeinen arbeiten.

Gemäß § 7 Abs. 4 der Gemeinsamen Promotionsordnung zum Dr. phil./Ph. D. der Freien Universität Berlin (Amtsblatt 60/2008 vom 2. Dezember 2008) versichere ich, diese Arbeit auf Grundlage der in der Bibliografie genannten Literatur selbstständig verfasst zu haben.

Berlin, den 22. August 2016